

STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY

[*Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*]

VOLUME THREE



1976

PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF
THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

BY

GEETHA BOOK HOUSE
NEW STATUE CIRCLE, MYSORE

Handwritten signature or mark in blue ink.

EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

OFFICE BEARERS 1976

Chairman :

Dr G.S. Gai, Mysore

Vice Chairman :

Prof K.D. Bajpai, Saugar

Secretary :

Dr A.V. Narasimha Murthy,
Mysore

Treasurer :

Sri K.G. Krishnan, Mysore

Editorial Board : Editors

Dr Z.A. Desai, Nagpur

Dr A.M. Shastri, Nagpur

Executive Editor :

Dr K.V. Ramesh, Mysore

Asst. Editor :

Dr S. S. Ramachandra Murthy,
Mysore

Asst. Secretary :

Sri M. J. Sharma, Mysore

Executive Committee :

Prof R.S. Sharma, Delhi

Dr N. Ramesan, Hyderabad

Sri S. R. Rao, Bangalore

Dr A. K. Narain, Wisconsin

Prof S. H. Ritti, Dharwar

Dr A. N. Lahiri, Calcutta

Dr T. P. Verma, Banaras

Prof M. G. S. Narayanan,
Calicut

Dr A. A. Khadiri, Nagpur

Dr R. S. Mishra, Jaipur

Sri B. C. Jain, Jabalpur

Dr. (Mrs) Shobhana Gokhale,
Poona

Dr (Miss) Champakalakshmi,
New Delhi

Dr B. N. Mukherjee,
Calcutta

HONORARY FELLOWS

1 Dr R. C. Majumdar

2 Dr V. V. Mirashi

3 Dr B. Ch. Chhabra

4 Dr D. C. Sircar

5 Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao

6 Sri C. Shivaramamurthy

7 Sri R. S. Panchamukhi

8 Prof T. V. Mahalingam

9 Prof Jagannath Agrawal

10 Dr H. V. Trivedi

General President Third Annual Congress-Udipi
Prof T. V. Mahalingam

STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY

[*Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*]

JOURNAL OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOLUME THREE

Editors

Z. A. DESAI and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Executive Editor

K. V. RAMESH

Assistant Editor

S. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTHY



PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF
THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

BY

GEETHA BOOK HOUSE
NEW STATUE CIRCLE, MYSORE

Studies in Indian Epigraphy (Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā):
Vol. III, Pp. 197. Edited by Dr Z. A. Desai and Dr Ajay Mitra
Shastri. Executive Editor: Dr K. V. Ramesh. Assistant Editor:
Dr S. S. Ramachandra Murthy. Published on behalf of the
Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore, by Geetha Book House,
New Statue Circle, Mysore 570 001, 1977.

FIRST PUBLISHED 1977

COPYRIGHT © EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA
and GEETHA BOOK HOUSE

Printed in India by
VIDYASAGAR PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE
SARASWATHIPURAM, MYSORE 570 009

EDITORIAL

K. V. Ramesh, Executive Editor

IT GIVES US GREAT PLEASURE to place the Third Volume of the Society's journal in the hands of scholars and students of epigraphy. As was the case with the two earlier volumes the present one also contains learned articles from senior epigraphists as well as young entrants in the field of epigraphical studies. Being the only non-governmental journal dedicated exclusively to the publication of epigraphical writings it is but natural that the *Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā* has been attracting the attention of epigraphists in India and abroad.

It is a matter for regret that owing to the high cost of production and lack of necessary finances we have not been able to bring out as yet more than one issue per year. We, however, wish to restate our hope that the society will soon be able to increase the frequency of this journal's appearance and we only hope that concerned bodies, governmental as well as non-governmental, will render the financial assistance needed for the realisation of this hope.

It is but befitting that this issue should be dedicated to the great indologist Dr D. R. Bhandarkar to commemorate his birth centenary. This is the least the society could do as a mark of tribute to Dr Bhandarkar for his invaluable contributions.

We thank the Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Secretary of the Society for their willing help and cooperation. The Editorial Board places on record for the third time the Society's debt of gratitude to M/s Geetha Book House, Mysore, and to Shri M. Sathyanarayana Rao, in particular, for agreeing to publish the third issue of the Journal. Shri Sathyanarayana Rao's abiding interest in furthering the cause of epigraphy has been a source of strength to the Society. Our thanks are also due to the Partners, M/s Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore, for their neat execution of printing work in a short time.

ISSUED
IN MEMORY
OF
Dr D. R. BHANDARKAR



(November 19, 1875—May 30, 1950)

[Courtesy : Shri N. Majumdar, Asian Book Trust, Bombay]



CONTENTS

1. Epigraphical Studies in India : Some Observations —D. C. Sircar	... 9
2. The Rāmagupta Problem Re-examined —V. V. Mirashi	... 26
3. Notes on the So-called 'Queen's Edict' of Aśōka —K. R. Norman	... 35
4. Doḍvāḍ Plates of Jayakēśi III, 1209 A. D. —R. N. Gurav	... 43
5. The Tiruvēndīpuram Inscription of Rājarāja III — A Study —T. V. Mahalingam	... 60
6. Some Important Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir— A Socio-Political study —B. K. Deambi	... 69
7. Reappraisal of Two Inscriptions from Kanhēri —Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale	... 82
8. Nāṇēghaṭ Inscription Re-examined —V. V. Mirashi	... 86
9. The Philosophy of Mahēndravarmaṇ's Tiruchirāpalli Epigraph —Michael Lockwood ; A. Vishnu Bhat ...	91
10. Inscriptions on Hero-Stones in Karnataka —A.M. Annigeri	... 103
11. The Nālandā Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yaśōvarmadēva—A Fresh Appraisal —Shyam Manohar Mishra	... 108
12. Pāṇḍya-Āḷupa Coins —R. Nagaswamy	... 116
13. Inscribed Potsherds from South Indian Excavations —S. Gurumurthy	... 120

14.	A Note on the Arjunavāḍa Inscription —B. Ramaiah	...	124
15.	A Note on the Term 'Uḍiyuchchi' of the Kannaḍa Inscriptions —C. T. M. Kotraiah	...	128
16.	Economic Implications of the Harihar Inscription of Dēvarāya I, 1410 A. D. —G. R. Kuppaswamy	...	138
17.	Notes on Būḍidagaḍḍapalle, Kottūru and Muttukūru Inscriptions —S. S. Ramachandra Murthy	...	146
18.	Notes on the Kauvatal and Vakratentali Charters —Ajay Mitra Shastri	...	152
19.	The [F*]utility and (F)utility of Palaeography in Dating Undated Inscriptions —K. V. Ramesh	...	156
20.	Khaṇḍavalli Plates of the Time of Kākati Pratāparudra —C. Somasundara Rao	...	163
21.	Further Note on the Umā-Mahēśvara Image Inscription from Skandar (Afghanistan) —G. S. Gai	...	180
22.	Malhar Plates of Pāṇḍava King Śūrabala: Year 8 —B. Sitaraman ; M. J. Sharma	...	183
	Book Reviews	...	194

EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES IN INDIA: SOME OBSERVATIONS*

D. C. SIRCAR

I AM THANKFUL to the members and the executive authorities of the Epigraphical Society of India for their kindness in electing me President for the present Session held at Indore. I hope you will permit me on this occasion to say a few words on certain aspects of the study of Indian epigraphy and palaeography, of which I have been a humble student for the past fortysix years.

1. BEGINNING OF THE STUDY

The study of Indian inscriptions practically started with the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta on the 15th January, 1784 by the British and other European scholars, administrators and missionaries for an enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia in general and of India in particular. At that time, no Indian Pandit was able to read the ancient Brāhmī and Kharōshthī writings, although the most learned among them could read manuscripts copied a few centuries earlier. The ability of such Pandits was often utilised by the foreign scholars who made the first attempts to read the inscriptions of the medieval period. Encouraged by such foreigners, Pandit Radhakanta Sarma read the three Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscriptions of Chāhamāna Vīgraharāja IV, one of which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1220 (1184 A.D.) in 1785. This one and the other articles referred to below were published mostly earlier in the *Asiatic Researches* and then in its successor, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

There is evidence to show that the Pandits could not read the Brāhmī edicts of Aśōka (third century B.C.) even as early

* Presidential Address delivered at the Second Congress of the Society at Indore, October, 1975.

as the fourteenth century. In the year 1356 A.D., Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughluq of Delhi brought two Aśōkan pillars—one from Topra in the Ambala District, Haryana, and the other from Meerut in U.P.—and set them up at his capital. The Sultan was curious to know the meaning of the writings on the pillars; but none of the Pandits invited by him was able to read the Aśōkan edicts written on them in early Brāhmī characters.

Early in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century, Charles Wilkins, with the application of his knowledge of late medieval Bengali and Nāgarī scripts gradually acquired from a study of manuscripts, succeeded somehow in deciphering first (1781) the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāla (ninth century) and then (1785) the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (ninth-tenth century), both written in the Siddhamātrikā, derivative of late Brāhmī. The experience thus gathered was employed by Wilkins in 1785-89 in reading the Barabar and Nāgārjuni hill cave inscriptions of Maukhari Anantavarman, which are written in late Brāhmī characters of the sixth century. This attempt of Wilkins led to the determination of the value of half the letters of late Brāhmī as used in the Gupta inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, so that A. Troyer could decipher part of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (fourth century) and W. H. Mill read the whole of it, both in 1834, while the latter soon (1837) deciphered the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (fifth century). In 1837-38, Prinsep read the Gupta inscriptions from Kahaum, Ēran and Girnar and thus late Brāhmī characters of the Gupta age were completely deciphered through the efforts principally of Wilkins, Troyer, Mill and Prinsep.

Between 1783 and 1821, Colin Mackenzie collected the transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates from various parts of the old Madras Presidency comprising the Tamil-speaking areas together with some regions speaking Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam. Walter Elliot collected many copper-plates and impressions of a large number of inscriptions and also published a paper entitled 'Hindu Inscriptions' in 1837. Manuscripts of Elliot's transcripts of his collection, entitled *Carnataka Dēśa Inscriptions*, Vols. I and II, are preserved in the University of Edinburgh and in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. His collection of original copper-plate grants

was presented, after his death, to the British Museum. Elliot also published the early Kannaḍa alphabet (i.e. Telugu-Kannaḍa) in 1838, while B. G. Babington had published the alphabets of the Tamil-speaking region on the basis of certain Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions from Māmallapuram in the Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu, in 1828. Some inscriptions were published by Elliot in *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, by Wathen and by Balgangadhar Sastri and George Legrand Jacob in the early volumes of *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and by Taylor in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. A number of South Indian epigraphs were likewise published in *Asiatic Researches* and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Between the years 1818 and 1823, many inscriptions belonging to the period from the seventh to the fifteenth century, were collected by James Tod from various parts of Rajasthan. These were read by the Jain Yati Jnanachandra and their summaries were published by Tod here and there in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vols. I (1829) and II (1832). W. H. Wathen succeeded in reading, in 1835, one of the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi in Gujarat, who flourished in the period from about the sixth to the eighth century.

2. DECIPHERMENT OF THE EARLY BRAHMI AND

KHAROSHTHI ALPHABETS

With the knowledge of late Brāhmī of the Gupta inscriptions, several scholars were trying to read the early Brāhmī characters used in the Aśōkan edicts and other records; but the attempts were unsuccessful because most of the letters had different forms in the two types of writing. In 1834-35, James Prinsep examined the inscriptions on the Aśōkan pillars at Delhi and Allahabad and at Radhiya (Lauriya-Araraḥ) and Mathiya (Lauriya-Nandangarh), both in the Champaran District, Bihar, and discovered the interesting fact that they were copies of the same inscription. On a careful examination of the different characters of their alphabet, Prinsep further noticed that some of them somewhat resembled the known characters of the Gupta records. As a matter of fact, in 1834, James Stevenson had already recognised the value of the early Brāhmī letters *ka*, *ja*, *pa* and *ba* on the same basis, while in 1836, Ch. Lassen determined the value of a few characters on the basis

of certain coins of the Greek ruler Agathocles bearing the legend in Greek on the obverse and its translation on the reverse in Prakrit written in early Brāhmī characters, both legends containing the name of the issuing king. Such coins were issued only by kings Agathocles and Pantaleon, and legends offered by them are (1) Basileos Agathokleous ([coin] of king Agathocles) and *Rājānē Agathuklayēsha* (Sanskrit *Rājñāḥ Agathuklēyasya*), and (2) Basileos Pantaleontos ([coin] of king Pantaleon) and *Rājānē Patalēvasha* (Sanskrit *Rājñāḥ Pantalēvasya*).

In 1837, Prinsep observed that a large number of small inscriptions from the Sanchi Stupa ended in three signs common to them and correctly conjectured that those were votive inscriptions like the epigraphs in the Buddhist temples of Ava (Burma) and that the reading of the three characters may be... *sa dānam* (Sanskrit...*sya dānam*, i.e. the gift of so-and-so). Thus the important *aksharas dā* and *na*, most different from their known Gupta forms, were deciphered, and it was now possible for Prinsep to read the Brāhmī edicts of Aśoka without much difficulty since he also realised that their language is not Sanskrit, but a type of Prakrit.

The decipherment of Kharōshthī writing was somewhat facilitated by the fact that the Greek kings of Afghanistan and Pakistan (as also many of their successors) adopted the practice of issuing coins with Greek legend on the obverse and its translation in the Prakrit language and the Kharōshthī script on the reverse; e.g., *Basileos Megalou Eukratidou* (i.e. [coin] of the great king Eucratides) on the obverse and *Mahārājasa Evukratidasa* (Sanskrit *Mahārājasya Evukratidasya*) on the reverse. On the basis of a study of some such Greek coins, Ch. Lassen deciphered several *aksharas* of the Kharōshthī alphabet, while the Prakrit rendering of the names of Menander (*Menādra* or *Menamdra*), Apollodotus (*Apaladata*) and Hermaeus (*Hera-maya*) as well as titles like *Soteros* (*Trātāra* = Sanskrit *Trātā*) helped Prinsep (who received a hint from Charles Masson) in determining the value of as many as seventeen *aksharas*, i.e. half the characters of the Kharōshthī alphabet. The study of a Kangra inscription having an Early Brāhmī and a Kharōshthī version of Aśokan rock edicts discovered at Shahbazgarhi near Peshawar was of great help in finalising the decipherment of the alphabet. The credit of deciphering the writing goes, besides

Prinsep and Lassen, to others, notably E. Norris and A. Cunningham, who also determined the value of some *aksharas*.

Different copies or versions of Aśoka's edicts in different scripts and languages, which offer the best opportunity for the study of the earliest forms of Brāhmī and Kharōshthī, have been discovered in various parts of India and Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan. Many scholars have written upon them from time to time. Aśoka's inscriptions discovered till the seventies of the nineteenth century were published in a volume by Cunningham in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*), Calcutta, 1877, but were soon edited more satisfactorily by E. Senart in his *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881, 1886. E. Hultzsch published a revised edition of the *Corpus* in 1925, in which all Aśokan records discovered till then were ably edited. Aśokan edicts discovered after 1925 are mostly in Brāhmī and a few in Aramaic and Greek which were meant for the Yavana (Greek) and Kamboja (Iranian) subjects of Aśoka living in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

For the Brāhmī inscriptions discovered after 1925, see R. L. Turner, *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10, 1931 and 1932 (Gavimath and Palkigundu); and D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI (Gujarra and Rājula-Manḍagiri); Vol. XXXII (Erraguḍi and Sopara); Vol. XXXV, Amarāvati; Vol. XXXVI (Ahraura); Vol. XXXVIII (Delhi). For the Aramaic and Greek inscriptions, see E. Herzfeld, *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, (Taxila; Aramaic); W. B. Henning, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. XII (Laghman; Aramaic); J. Filliozat, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIV (Kandahar; Greek and Aramaic); and D. Schlumberger and E. Benveniste, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII (Kandahar; Greek); cf. Benveniste, *Journal Asiatique*, 1964, and Benveniste and Andre Sommer, *ibid.*, 1966.

Gradually the necessity of bringing out books on Indian palaeography was felt and G. H. Ojha's *Bhāratiya Prācīn Lipimālā* (in Hindi), first published in 1894 and revised and enlarged in 1918, and G. Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* (1896, translated into English by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix) were the only standard works on the subject for a long time. A. H. Dani's *Indian Palaeography* appeared recently in 1963. Filliozat's section on palaeography in *L'Inde Classique* (Tome II), edited by L. Renou and himself,

is valuable because it also deals with the derivatives of Brāhmī outside the Indian sub-continent. Mention may also be made of works like A.C. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palaeography (from the 4th to the 14th century A.D.)*, 1874, and later publications like R.D. Banerji's *Origin of the Bengali Script*, 1919.

A number of such studies have been very recently published. Cf. C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Palaeography and South Indian Scripts*, 1954; C.C. Dasgupta, *The Development of Kharōṣṭhī Script*, 1958; C.S. Upasak, *The History and Palaeography of the Mauryan Brāhmī Script*, 1960; K.B. Tripathi, *The Evolution of Oriya language and Script*, 1962; T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Palaeography*, 1967; J.P. Verma, *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script*, 1971; etc.

3. ORIGIN OF BRAHMI AND KHAROSHTHI AND THE PROBLEM OF THE INDUS VALLEY WRITING

As regards the origin of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, there has not been much controversy among scholars. The Semitic association of the script was suggested by the fact that it is written from right to left. It is now generally accepted that Kharōṣṭhī is a cursive modification of the Aramaic alphabet which was introduced into certain areas of Pakistan that formed parts of the Achaemenian empire of Iran from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. Because of its unsuitability to write Sanskrit languages, its use remained confined to the north-western areas of the Indian sub-continent and a few areas of Central Asia, and it died out in India by about the fifth century A.D.

The question of the origin of Brāhmī, which is written from left to right and is the mother of all the indigenous alphabets of India as well as of the scripts of Tibet, Sri-Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, etc., was associated by earlier European writers with the problem of the antiquity of writing in the Indian sub-continent. Many of these writers believed that the people of India had originally no knowledge of writing so that Brāhmī alphabet must have been borrowed by them apparently from Western Asia. Thus G. Bühler, one of the most respected authorities on Indian palaeography, supposed that the Indians adapted the Brāhmī writing from North-Semitic signs found in archaic Phoenician inscriptions about 800 B.C.

However, these opinions had been expressed before the discovery of the Indus Valley seals bearing legends of the latter part of the third millennium B. C. and proving that the ancient Indians had knowledge of writing long before the date of the Early Brāhmī records of the Maurya age. The legends of the ancient seals have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered; but it is not improbable that the Brāhmī alphabet was adapted out of the latest phase of this old writing consisting of a large number of signs which exhibit an admixture of the pictographic and syllabic types of ancient writing.

For the nature of the Indus Valley seals and the writing on them, see J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, Ch. XXI by E. Mackay, and Ch. XXII by C.J. Gadd; cf. also G. K. Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, 1934. Several scholars have claimed to have deciphered the Indus Valley script; but such claims have not been generally accepted.

4. PROGRESS OF THE STUDY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

As regards palaeography, we have referred above to the books on the subject by Burnell, Ojha and Bühler, which were published during the period in question.

An interesting development during this period is the creation of the Archaeological Survey of India. A. Cunningham prepared a large number of his Archaeological Survey Reports first as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India (1861-65) and then as the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1871-85). These reports contain notices of hundreds of inscriptions. Another important work of this type is A. Fuhrer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1891). Numerous inscriptions, lists and notices of epigraphic records and information of various types also appeared in the Survey's reports, particularly of Western and Southern India.

In 1865, the Government of Mysore published 150 copper-plate and stone inscriptions collected from different parts of the State. In the following year, Theodore Hope edited 64 inscriptions in his *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore* published at the cost of the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of

Western India, and some other epigraphs were also inserted by him in his *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*. In 1878, the India Office published J.F. Fleet's *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore*, and in the next year B. L. Rice published his *Mysore Inscriptions*.

In South-Western India, many inscriptions were published in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (since 1842); but the publication of the *Indian Antiquary* by J. Burgess from Bombay in 1872 gave an impetus to epigraphic study because it attracted many competent writers interested in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. Fleet rightly observed that the *Indian Antiquary* "undoubtedly also did much towards arousing the official interest which is so necessary for the successful prosecution of antiquarian researches in such a country as India where official action must do what would elsewhere be accomplished by private enterprise, and which, previously wanting, soon afterwards began to be displayed."

We have referred above to *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I (*Inscriptions of Asoka*) edited by A. Cunningham. Fleet was appointed to the specially created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India (1883 to 1886) temporarily for editing the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their contemporaries for *Corpus*, Vol. III, which appeared in 1888. As early as 1837, Prinsep suggested that the numerous inscriptions, which had been appearing in different publications and had been found to exist in considerable numbers, should be systematically arranged for study of ancient Indian history and should be published in volumes entitled *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

In the introduction to the above work, Fleet succeeded in showing, with the help of calculations done for him by Sankar Balkrishna Dikshit as well as a statement of Al-Biruni and a Mandasor inscription mentioning Kumāragupta and dated in the Mālava (Vikrama) year 493 (436-37 A. D.) that the dates in the Gupta inscriptions "run not from A. D. 77-78, 166-67 or 190-91, but from A. D. 319-20 or very closely thereabouts." Although a similar suggestion offered on the basis of Al-Biruni's statement was already known, Fleet's comprehensive treatment of the subject convinced most historians and offered us a *terra firma* in the pathless sea of early Indian chronology. For a few years about

this time, Fleet was receiving an annual grant from the Bombay Government for the collection of impressions of inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency. His Assistants visited 220 villages in the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts and the neighbouring native states and collected impressions of about one thousand inscriptions.

In the year 1888, J. Burgess, then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, started an official journal entitled *Epigraphia Indica* intended specially for the publication of inscriptions. Volumes I and II of this periodical were edited by Burgess and the next few volumes (1894-1901) by E. Hultzsch who was Epigraphist to the Government of Madras since 1886 and had edited the early volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, the first of which containing some Tamil and Sanskrit records collected from different parts of the Madras Presidency came out in 1890. Vol. II, parts i-iii were edited by E. Hultzsch while iv-v were edited by V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri respectively. Vol. III, Parts i-ii were edited by E. Hultzsch and parts iii-iv by H. Krishna Sastri. Hultzsch moreover published notices of inscriptions collected and examined by himself and his associates, notably V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri, in annual reports since 1887 under the caption of particular Government Orders. Later the publication was called *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, and in half a century nearly 24,000 inscriptions on temple walls and other monuments and about 500 copper-plate grants were reviewed in it. From the issue of 1945-46, the scope of this periodical has been widened and its name has been changed to *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*.

In 1886, B. L. Rice, who was in charge of archaeological researches in the Mysore State (1884-1906) and collected 8,869 inscriptions from Mysore and Coorg, published *Coorg Inscriptions* as Vol. I of the series entitled *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II of which, containing the inscriptions of Śravaṇabelgoḷa, appearing in 1889. There were a dozen volumes in this series. Vol. I of the series was revised by Rice in 1914 and Vol. II by R. Narasimha-char in 1923, and both the volumes as well as Vol. III have been recently revised by B. R. Gopal respectively in 1972, 1973 and 1974.

There were similar activities elsewhere in India; but the discovery of inscriptions is more frequent in the South than in the North. A notable epigraphical publication of the type of the

Corpus volumes is *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (from 'Kattywar, as well as the provinces of Gujarat, Marwar, Mewar, etc.') published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department in or shortly after 1889. Another important work appearing about the close of the last century is F. Kielhorn's *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A. D. 400* published as an Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V (1898-1899). Similar other useful articles published in the early volumes of the journal include Kielhorn's 'Dates of the Cōḷa kings' (Vol. IV) and Jacobi's 'The Computation of Hindu Dates of Inscriptions' (Vol. I) and 'Tables for Calculating Hindu Dates in True Local Time' (Vol. II). Important is also A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* published in 1883.

In 1839, M. Elphinstone had observed (and E. B. Cowell later agreed with him) that no date of a public event in Indian history could be fixed before Alexander's invasion and that no connected relation of the national transactions was possible before the Muhammadan conquest. The continuous collection and study of the data from various sources, especially from inscriptions, was, however, gradually improving the position. A laudable attempt to utilise all available sources including epigraphic material for reconstructing the political and cultural history of India was made by Ch. Lassen in his great work entitled *Indische Alterthumskunde* published in four volumes, each containing about one thousand large pages, between 1847 and 1861.

An important fact about epigraphic study of the period in question is that Indian scholars gradually began to participate in it. The Pandits whose names have been mentioned above as well as Pandit Kamalakanta and Translator Saradaprasad, employees of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, were not really epigraphists. Among the Indian students of epigraphy during the latter half of the last century, mention may be made of Rajendralal Mitra, Bhau Daji, Bhagwanlal Indraji and R. G. Bhandarkar, among whom Indraji appears to be more successful than the others. However, the greatest workers in the field of Indian epigraphy (and palaeography as well) were the foreigners, G. Bühler and F. Kielhorn besides J. F. Fleet and E. Hultzsch whose contributions have often been mentioned above. In the *Epigraphia Indica*, the numbers of articles contributed by Fleet, Bühler, Kielhorn

and Hultzsch are respectively 29, 42, 122 and 111. Among others we may mention L. D. Barnett's 51 and R. D. Banerji's 32 articles.

5. PROGRESS OF THE STUDY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Some books on Indian palaeography appearing in the first and second halves of the present century have been mentioned above.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of the permanent post of Government Epigraphist for India, whose main function was to edit *Epigraphia Indica* and to organise the collection and study of inscriptions. The designation of this officer has been recently changed to Chief Epigraphist, and his office has been shifted from Ootacamund to Mysore.

The period was also characterised by the publication of a large number of works of various types dealing with Indian epigraphy, e.g., lists of inscriptions, volumes of inscriptions edited by various scholars as in the *Corpus*, *Carnatica* and *South Indian* series and the Bhavnagar publication referred to above, etc. *Epigraphia Indica* continued to publish interesting articles occasionally including such lists side by side with important inscriptions. Among the lists of epigraphic records, mention should be made of Kielhorn's *A List of Inscriptions of Southern India from about A.D. 500* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, 1902-1903); A. Guerinot's *Reportoire d' epigraphia Jaina*, 1908; H. Lüders' *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest time to about A. D. 400 except those of Aśoka* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, 1909-10); Hira Lal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (1918 and 1932); V. Rangacharya's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vols. I-III (1919); N. G. Majumdar's *A List of Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XXIV, 1924); D. R. Bhandarkar's *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A. C.* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX-XXIII, 1927-1936); R. Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, 1931; C. R. K. Charlu's *Subject Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* (from 1887 to 1936), 1940, and *List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras* (from 1887 till the 21st March 1938), 1941; R. V. Poduval's

Topographical List of Travancore Inscriptions, 1941; H. N. Dvivedi's *Gvāliyar Rājya kā Abhilēkh* (in Hindi), 1947; A. V. Nayak's *A List of Inscriptions of the Deccan* (*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IX, 1948-49); etc.

Among volumes of epigraphic records published during the period, the first to be mentioned, besides Hultzsch's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 1925), already referred to above, are Sten Konow's *Corpus*, Vol. II, Part I (*Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, 1929), and many volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and *South Indian Inscriptions* series. Parts iii (1920) and iv (1929) of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, were edited by H. Krishna Sastri while a large number of the subsequent volumes have appeared and are still appearing under the editorship of various scholars. The *Carnatica* series was discontinued. Rice's successor, R. Narasimhachar (1906-22), who collected 5000 inscriptions, began to publish the important amongst them in Annual Reports.

The following works are also worthy of mention in this connection : Butterworth and Venugopalachetti, *Nellore District Inscriptions*, I-III (1905); A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍa Lēkhamālā* (in Bengali, 1913); P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Lēkha-saṅgraha* (in Hindi), Vols. I (1918), II (1927) and III (1929); B. M. Barua and G. Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926; B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, 1929; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929; G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan* (in Marathi), Vols. I (1930) and II (1934); P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (in Bengali), 1932; G. V. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat* (in Gujarati), Vols. I (1933), II (1935) and III (1942); B. Misra, *Bhauma-Kara inscriptions in Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 1934; P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, Vol. II (1940; cf. Vol. III, 1956); R. S. Panchamukhi, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I (1941); D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (1942 and 1965); A. S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State*, Vol. I (1943); etc.

Out of the volumes of this type published after the middle of the present century, besides the latest issues of the *South Indian* series and the revised volumes of the *Carnatica Series*,

very valuable are the *Corpus* Vols. II, Part ii (H. Lüders, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, (1963), Vol. IV, Parts i-ii (V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi Era*, 1955); Vol. V (V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, 1963); H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, 1961; T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vols. I, II and III; etc. The Kannada Research Institute of Dharwar has published some volumes of *Karnatak Inscriptions* (Vol. II, 1952, and some more) under the editorship of R. S. Panchamukhi and others. We have also to mention Srinivas Ritti and G. S. Shelke, *Inscriptions from Nanded District* (1968), K. G. Kundangar's *Inscriptions of Northern Karnataka*, P. B. Desai's *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad* and *Kannada Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh*, N. Ramesan's *Copper-plate Inscriptions in the Hyderabad Museum*, S. G. Tulpule's *Prāchīn Marāṭhī Korīv Lēkh* (Marathi, 1960), etc. Among other epigraphical publications, one may count D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphy* (1965) and *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (1966).

6. INSCRIPTIONS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EARLY INDIAN HISTORY

We have referred above to the utilisation of inscriptions for the reconstruction of lost history of ancient India whose contributions to the civilization of the world are more spectacular than that of medieval and modern India. This reconstruction was attempted on the basis of material gathered from various sources such as literary, monumental, archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic, etc. The activities of the early and early medieval periods recorded in stone and copper-plate inscriptions are the most important among them. Indeed, nearly ninety percent of what we now know about the early period of Indian history has been derived from the epigraphic source alone.

About 80,000 inscriptions have so far been discovered in different parts of India, out of which the largest number come from the Tamil-, Kannada- and Telugu-speaking areas—about 30,000, 17,000 and 10,000 respectively. Many of the inscriptions have not yet been published. Every year new inscriptions are still being discovered and studied, and our knowledge of early Indian history is being gradually widened. Most of the inscriptions are of importance from this or that angle of vision; but some

of them are more important than others for the purpose of reconstruction of history. The importance of an inscription is determined by the amount of light it throws on the political and cultural history of the land. The popular belief that all important inscriptions have already been discovered, studied and utilised for the reconstruction of history is wrong, and this is clearly demonstrated by the *Epigraphia Indica* volumes published during the past 25 or 30 years. If the belief was true, it would hardly have been possible for two living Indian epigraphists to publish in *Epigraphia Indica* alone, as many as 60 papers (V. V. Mirashi) and 203 articles (D. C. Sircar).

The progress we are making every year in the reconstruction of history principally on the basis of newly discovered and studied epigraphic records can also be determined in other ways. Thus one can compare the very considerable changes and additions made in the successive editions of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* which was first published in 1904 and the fourth edition of which appeared two decades later shortly after the author's death. Similar comparison can also be made of the different editions of H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, the first of which appearing in the year 1923. Likewise, one can also compare the account of early India in a school text-book of about 450 pages published about the middle of the nineteenth century and another of similar bulk published a century later. It will be seen that the older book disposes of the early period in about 20 pages only, but that the later one devotes an equal number of pages in its treatment of the early, medieval (Muslim) and modern periods of Indian history. Such changes are the result of the gradual increase in our knowledge of early Indian history mostly based on the discovery and study of inscriptions.

7. DECLINE IN THE STUDY

We have tried above to sketch the great importance of the study of early Indian epigraphy and palaeography and the interest taken in it by scholars as well as the progress in the reconstruction of the lost history of ancient and early-medieval India resulting therefrom. It has, however, to be admitted that the subject lost its popularity with Western students considerably before the middle of this century while there are very few successful epi-

graphists even in India today. It is feared that soon there will be nobody to read and interpret an inscription correctly.

In the West, the study of inscriptions and coins is generally a part of history; but in India, both epigraphy and numismatics are counted as falling within archaeology probably because inscriptions and coins are often discovered in the course of archaeological explorations and excavations. The study of inscriptions and coins formed the major and most important item of the archaeologists' work here till the beginning of the present century. Even later, during the first quarter of this century, when the study of excavated antiquities began to receive due attention, most officers of the Archaeological Survey of India were dealing with inscriptions and coins. This seems to be the reason why epigraphy, which in India is atleast as great a subject as field archaeology and is also easily separable from the latter, was made the responsibility of a small branch of the Survey while no provision was made for numismatics. The effect of this policy manifested itself in the next quarter of the century when more and more emphasis was being laid on the study of prehistoric antiquities so that the study of inscriptions came to be more or less confined to the said branch. In the third quarter of the twentieth century, circumstances have so developed that suitably qualified and serious students are not easily available for conducting research work in subjects like epigraphy mainly because they are attracted by other easier avenues of life.

Indeed, to become a successful epigraphist, one requires not only a mastery over the language in which a particular inscription is written and the style of writing employed in it, but also wide knowledge of inscriptions especially of the type concerned and in cognate styles of writing. As a matter of fact, to do full justice to a singular inscription or coin, one requires the knowledge of hundreds of inscriptions and coins. A mutilated record cannot be read all at once, and the reading of a damaged passage baffling the decipherer for fifty times may occur to him in his fiftyfirst attempt or may not occur to him but to some one else. Another important requirement is honesty and integrity, because we should avoid the tendency to read anything we like when the passage is difficult to decipher.

8. INDO-MUSLIM EPIGRAPHY

Indo-Muslim inscriptions in Arabic and Persian appear in the country from about the end of the twelfth century. There are some bilingual records partly written in Arabic or Persian and partly in Sanskrit or some regional language. Muslim inscriptions are written in a variety of scripts such as Kufic and Nastaliq and Naskh including its variety called Thulth and the decorative type called Tughra which was developed in Bengal and Gujarat. The records are often beautifully executed and ornamented.

From the historical point of view, the importance of Indo-Muslim inscriptions is that sometimes they help us in rectifying the errors in the account found in the chronicles ; but they are not as important as early epigraphs in the Sanskrit and Dravidian languages because the latter speak of persons and events usually not known from any literary source.

For the contributions of the pioneers in the study of Indo-Muslim epigraphy, one may consult the list of published inscriptions by J. Horowitz appearing in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-1910. The large number of Muslim inscriptions received in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society from various parts of India were mostly edited by H. Blochmann, while *Asiatic Researches* and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* did valuable work in this connection.

Such inscriptions were also being published in several other periodicals in India and outside including the earlier volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*. The first issue (1907-1908) of the Government periodical *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* appeared under the editorship of Denison Ross. From the issue of 1951-1952, it is being published under the title *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*. The post of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions was created in 1946 for editing this periodical. Now its editor is the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions with his office at Nagpur.

Among volumes containing Indo-Muslim inscriptions, we may mention *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhāvnagari* (A Selection of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions collected by the Antiquarian

Department, Bhavanagar State, 1889); G.Yazdani and R. G. Gyani, *Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State*, Vol.II (1944); M.A. Chaghtai, *History of Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad through their Inscriptions (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. III, 1942)*; etc. Recently Shamsuddin's *Corpus of Mahammadan Inscriptions of Bengal* appeared in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). An interesting work on the subject is V.S. Bendrey's *A Studys of Muslim Inscriptions*, 1944.

My friends,

I am extremely thankful to you for your kindness in giving me a patient hearing.

THE RĀMAGUPTA PROBLEM RE-EXAMINED

V. V. Mirashi

WHEN DR. G. S. GAI PUBLISHED three inscriptions of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta in 1969,¹ it was hoped that the controversy about the historicity of that Gupta king would come to an end; for the records were found at Vidiśā, not far from Ēraṇ, where an inscription of his father Samudragupta had been discovered. So it is not unlikely that he was ruling there after his father's death. His title *Mahārājādhirāja* supported the view that he was a son and successor of Samudragupta, who had assumed the same imperial title before. His coins also had been found at Vidiśā and the neighbouring region. So the story in the *Dēvichandragupta* of Viśākhadatta, which is corroborated by several references in literature and inscriptions, appeared to be historical. We heaved a sigh of relief that one major problem in the history of the Guptas was solved.

But no. There are still some scholars who doubt all this evidence and want still stronger proof such as the gold coins of Rāmagupta or his specific mention as a descendant of the known members of the Gupta family. These cannot, however, be had for the asking. So we must evaluate the available evidence and examine critically the objections raised against the historicity of Rāmagupta.

Recently D. C. Sircar has stated the objections as follows.² In the first place, unlike the Gupta Emperors who were Bhāgavatas or Vaishṇavas, this Rāmagupta was a Jaina, so that it is difficult to make a place for him among the early Gupta monarchs. Secondly, the coins and inscriptions bearing the name of Rāmagupta have been found only in East Malwa

with which he should, therefore, be associated. Thirdly, it is probably not absolutely certain that Rāmgupta of the coins is identical with *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions. Fourthly, comparing the characters of the Vidiśā inscriptions with those of records in the west Indian variety of the south Indian script.....we feel that *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta flourished in the Vidiśā region after the Guptas and Hūṇas were struggling in the Malwa territory about the close of the fifth century A. D. and may have been an early member of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty of Mālava or East Malwa. He may have been an as yet unknown brother of the later Gupta king Jivitagupta I, who seems to have been the first independent ruler of that family.

Sircar places Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Dēvichandragupta*, at the close of the sixth century A. D. As for the marriage of Rāmagupta's widow Dhruvadēvi with his brother Chandragupta implied in that play, Sircar thinks that Viśākhadatta may have intended to show thereby that the plot of the play referred to very ancient times when such marriages were allowed.

We shall next proceed to examine these objections critically in the light of the available evidence.

As regards the first objection, the Vidiśā inscriptions do not state that Rāmagupta had espoused the Jaina faith. They only say that he got some images of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras made as advised by a certain Jaina Muni. This does not necessarily indicate that he had himself become a Jaina. Indian kings were very tolerant and treated all faiths with the same liberality. Instances are not wanting of Hindu kings having created Buddhist *vihāras* and *chaityas* or having made land-grants for their maintenance.³ In the present case Rāmagupta got some images carved for worship. This makes no difference. Again, why should there be any difficulty in placing him in the Gupta family if there was none in regard to Amōghavarsha I, who used to join Jaina monasteries periodically, though he was a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa family which venerated Śiva and Viṣṇu?

As regards the second objection, it is no doubt true that the coins of Rāmagupta have been found in the region.

round Vidiśā. That shows that he was ruling there, but this does not mean that he ruled over no other region. He had apparently a very short reign.⁴ Soon after his accession he ventured on an invasion of the contemporary Śaka (? Kushāṇa)⁵ king ruling in the north-west in which he suffered an ignominious defeat. He was rescued from it by his daring younger brother Chandragupta II. After his return to the capital his relations with the latter became strained and he soon lost his life. So he had no time to issue gold coins and in all probability they will never be found. However, his copper coins issued in imitation of the local Nāga⁶ and Magha⁷ coinage testify to his rule in that period. As the Vidiśā inscriptions and these coins are found in the same region there should be no difficulty in identifying Rāmagupta mentioned in both. That there is no mention of the imperial title on these coins is no bar to this identification as admitted by Sircar also. The script of the legend on them is of the Gupta period as shown by some scholars. The Garuḍa symbol on some of them⁸ lends support to this identification. This disposes of the third objection mentioned above.

As regards the fourth objection, it is not correct to say that the characters of the Vidiśā inscriptions are of the post-Gupta period. All the letters mentioned by Sircar, viz. *va*, *cha*, *pa*, *ha*, *ja*, and *ma* closely resemble those in well-known records of the Gupta age such as the Ēraṇ inscription of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta. Slight differences in the shape of letters must be attributed to the individual mode of writing such as is noticed even in the case of records of the same person. See, eg., the form of *ja* in *mahārājādhirāja* in lines 1-2 of the inscription on Image A. The characters are certainly not as late as the sixth century A. D. See, eg., the form of *ya*, which has invariably a hook in its left limb, not a loop as in the later inscriptions of the sixth century A. D. such as the Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśōdharman.⁹ The evidence of palaeography is definitely in favour of ascribing the Vidiśā inscriptions to the 4th century A.D.

That the Vidiśā inscriptions are of a much earlier period than the sixth century A. D. is also shown by the absence of a *lāṇ-ehhana* on the pedestals of the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

These *lāñchhanas* came into vogue after about 400 A. D. It has been pointed out by U. P. Shah¹⁰ that "no Jina image of the Kushāṇa period shows any *lāñchhana*. The first datable and earliest known sculpture with a *lāñchhana* is the partly mutilated sculpture of Nēminātha from Rājgir, with a Gupta-period inscription referring to Chandragupta." ¹¹ Had *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta flourished in sixth century A. D. there would have been *lāñchhanas* on the pedestals of the three images carved in his reign as on so many other Jina images of that age.

Sircar places *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta of the Vidiṣā inscriptions in the sixth century A. D. and identifies him with an unknown younger brother of Jivitagupta I, 'the first independent ruler of the Later Gupta family of Mālava'.¹² This view is open to very serious objections. In the first place, this Later Gupta family is known only from inscriptions discovered in Bihar, not in Malwa. That it could not have been ruling in Malwa was forcefully pointed out by R. D. Banerji as far back as 1928. The Aphaṣṭ stone inscription of Ādityasēna describes the victory of Mahāsēnagupta, his grandfather, over Susthitavarman,¹³ who is known to have been a king of Assam.¹⁴ So he could not have been a king of Malwa. "A king of eastern Malwa," says Banerji, "would have to pass through Bundēlkhaṇḍ, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal to reach Assam. Even if he had chosen the extremely difficult route through the C. P. Balaghat, as the Musalman historians call it, he would have had to pass through Ḍabhāla or Ḍāhala, Magadha, Gauḍa or Rāḍha and Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. None of these countries is mentioned in the Aphaṣṭ inscription. Therefore, the only logical conclusion that remains possible is that in order to reach the borders of Assam Mahāsēnagupta had not to pass through so many provinces. Though he was a ruler of Magadha, Assam very probably lay on his frontier, and Rāḍha and Vaṅga or Mithilā and Narēndra were included in his kingdom. In this case only is it possible for Mahāsēnagupta to have fought with Susthitavarman of Assam."¹⁵

Some scholars suppose that Mahāsēnagupta was ruling over Mālava because Bāṇa mentions in his *Harshacharita* that Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, who were appointed to

wait upon Rājyavardhana and Harsha,¹⁶ were sons of a king of Mālava, and Mādhavagupta is described in the Aphaṣṭ inscription as anxious to have the company of Harsha.¹⁷ These are not very cogent reasons. Mahāsēnagupta was a contemporary of Harsha's grandfather Ādityavardhana as his sister Mahāsēnaguptā was married to the latter.¹⁸ His son Mādhavagupta mentioned in the Aphaṣṭ inscription was a contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana, not of his sons Rājyavardhana and Harsha. Further, there is no evidence that he was ruling over Mālava. Bāṇa tells us that Prabhākaravardhana had vanquished the ruler of Mālava; for he is said to have deprived him of his royal fortune as an axe cuts off the off-shoots of a creeper.¹⁹ The princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta were sent by their father, who was ruling over Mālava, more or less like hostages; for they were to serve Rājyavardhana and Harsha as their attendants. There was thus hostility between the royal families of Thānēśvar and Malwa. So later, when Dēvagupta, who may have been a younger brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, found a suitable opportunity, after the death of Prabhākaravardhana, he invaded Kanauj and threw Harsha's sister Rājyaśrī into prison after killing her husband Grahavarman. These incidents would not have happened if Mahāsēnagupta and his family had been ruling in Mālava; for they were closely related to the Vardhanas of Thānēśvar.

Besides, even if Mahāsēnagupta had been ruling over the Vidiśā region, he would not have been called, 'a king of Mālava'. The country round Vidiśā was known as Daśārṇa,²⁰ not as Mālava. Kumāragupta, Mādhavagupta and Dēvagupta may have been princes of Eastern Malwa called Ākara (or Eastern Ākarāvanti). They have absolutely no connection with the Later Guptas whose inscriptions have not been found outside Bihar.²¹ Mere similarity of names is no guarantee of identity. It is noteworthy that the name Kumāragupta occurs in the Aphaṣṭ inscription in an earlier generation also.

Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions could not, therefore, have been one of the Later Guptas, much less the hypothetical younger brother of Jīvitagupta I. There is absolutely no evidence that the ancestors of Jīvitagupta

ever ruled in Mālava,²² much less over the region round Vidiśā. The only Rāmagupta so far known is the elder brother of Chandragupta II of the Early Gupta dynasty mentioned in literature and inscriptions. He must be identified with the homonymous *Mahārājādhirāja* whose three inscriptions have fortunately come to notice at Vidiśā.

Sircar places Rāmagupta of the Vidiśā inscriptions in the sixth century A. D. He also refers Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Dēvī-Chandragupta*, to the close of the same century. But he thinks that the Rāmagupta of his play is not the supposed Later Gupta king of that name but an imaginary earlier Gupta king about whom Viśākhadatta has woven an imaginary plot. Viśākhadatta's other play the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* has an admittedly historical plot. He may have added some imaginary details to the original historical event²³ but his hero is not imaginary. And there is no reason to suppose that in his other play he chose imaginary characters like Rāmagupta, Chandragupta and Dhruvadēvī. Sircar's supposition that the dramatist represented that his hero Chandragupta married his brother's widow in order to suggest that the event occurred in very ancient times, is absolutely baseless. If Rāmagupta was an elder brother of Chandragupta II as represented in the play, he flourished only about two hundred years before—not in very ancient times. If marriage with an elder brother's wife was permissible in the age of Chandragupta II it must have been so in Viśākhadatta's time also.

There is thus no evidence to doubt the authenticity of the story dramatised by Viśākhadatta. The discovery of the three Vidiśā inscriptions has corroborated in a remarkable manner the conjecture originally made by R. D. Banerji and A. S. Altekar and subsequently corroborated by several other scholars by means of literary and inscriptional evidence. I have shown elsewhere²⁴ how some other aspects of the story which appear unbelievable can also be satisfactorily explained.²⁵

Notes :

1. *JOI.*, XVIII, 218 f., *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, 45 f.
2. *JAIH.*, III, 145 f.
3. See, eg., the Vishṇukunḍin grants, *JIH.*, XLIII, 733 f.; Mallār plates of Mahāśivagupta, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 113 f. The Silāhāra king Gaṇḍarāditya, though a devotee of Mahālakshmi, married a Jaina lady and made donations to Jaina temples at the request of his relatives. He also erected a temple of Arhat (Jina) like those of Buddha and Siva.
4. R.D. Banerji says that it is extremely improbable that Rāmagupta ruled for more than a few months.—*The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 28.
5. I have shown elsewhere that Rāmagupta's encounter with the enemy, who was a Kushāṇa king, took place in the Punjab. See my *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 121 f. R.D. Banerji placed the encounter in Mathurā. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
6. There was a Nāga kingdom in Vidiśā. *DKA.*, 49. For coins of the Nāgas, see Trivedi's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings*.
7. I have shown elsewhere that the Maghas flourished in Central India before the Guptas. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, 297 f. For the coins of the Maghas see *JNSI.*, II, 95 f.
8. *JNSI.*, XXIII, 340 f.
9. *CII.*, III, pl. XXI. The shapes of the other letters also are more developed in the charter of Vishṇushōṇa. See plate facing pages 180-81 in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.
10. *Jaina Art and Architecture*, III, 476.
11. *ARASI.*, 1925-26, Plate LVI b.
12. *JAIH.*, III, 148.
13. *CII.*, III, 203.
14. See the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 65 f.
15. *JBORS.*, XIV, 205.
16. See *Harshacharita* (ed. by Fuhrer, 1909), uchchhvāsa IV, pp. 195 ff.
17. *CII.*, III, 204.
18. Mahāsēnaguptā, queen of Ādityavardhana, is generally taken to be the sister of Mahāsēnagupta mentioned in the Aphaṣṭ stone inscription though this is stated nowhere explicitly.
19. See *Mālavakshmi-latā-paraśuḥ* in the description of Prabhākaravardhana in the *Harshacharita*, IV, p. 174.
20. See the *Mēghadūta* (ed. by Pathak), vv. 24-25.
21. See *CII.*, III, Nos. 42-46.
22. The Aphaṣṭ inscription mentions their wars with the Maukharis and kings of Assam and not with any kings of Central India.
23. See, e.g., the reference to the Hūṇas therein.
24. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 109 f.

25. The history of Magadha, Gauḍa and Mālava in this period is very much complicated. In *HCIP*, III 72 f. and 126 f. R. C. Majumdar has reconstructed it as follows. The Later Guptas were ruling over Gauḍa and Magadha with suzerainty over Mālava. Mahāsēnagupta obtained a brilliant victory over Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam), but this resulted in the counter-raid by the king of Assam who invaded Gauḍa. At the same time Mahāsēnagupta suffered defeat at the hands of the Maitraka king Śilāditya of Valabhi and the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa. In this situation he lost Magadha and Gauḍa which were occupied by Śaśāṅka. Mahāsēnagupta then sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to wait upon Rājyavardhana. Later, after defeating Śaśāṅka, Harsha crowned Kumāragupta king of Magadha. He was followed by Mādhavagupta mentioned in the Aḥṣaḍ inscription. He must have come to the throne when he was advanced in age. He was succeeded by Ādityasēna, whose Shahpur image inscription is dated in the year 66 of the Harsha era (corresponding to 672 A.D.). The reading of the date is, however, uncertain, but there is no doubt that Ādityasēna ascended the throne in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D.

This reconstruction is based on very slender evidence viz. the description of Mādhavagupta as longing for the company of the illustrious Harsha (*Śrī-Harshadēva-nija-saṅgama-vāñchhayā cha*) in the Aḥṣaḍ inscription. There is no evidence that Mahāsēnagupta or his ancestors were ever ruling over Mālava, much less during the reign of Prabhākaravardhana. Had Mahāsēnagupta been ruling there, Prabhākaravardhana would not have vanquished him and caused decline in his power and prestige; for he was his own maternal uncle. Mahāsēnagupta's son Mādhavagupta was a cousin of Prabhākaravardhana and, therefore, must have been much older than Rājyavardhana and Harsha. On the other hand, Bāṇa's description implies that the Mālava prince Mādhavagupta was not more than sixteen years old; for he explicitly states that his elder brother Kumāragupta was eighteen years old. (See *jyēshṭham aśṭādaśa-varshadēśīyam...Kumāraguptam...prishṭhatas-tasya kanīyāmsam...Mādhavaguptam dadṛśatuḥ. Harshacharita*, uchchhvāsa IV, pp. 196-98). So Mahāsēnagupta's son Mādhavagupta cannot be identified with the homonymous prince of Mālava mentioned by Bāṇa. Again, in view of their relationship to himself, Prabhākaravardhana would not have asked his sons to treat as *bhṛīyas* (servants) or *anucharas* (attendants) the Mālava princes as stated in the *Harshacharita*. The exact implication of the expression *Śrī-Harshadēva-nija-saṅgama-vāñchhayā* in the Aḥṣaḍ inscription is uncertain as the verse is fragmentary. Mādhavagupta, the prince of Mālava, was for a long time associated with Harsha. He was with him when he visited the hermitage of the Buddhist monk Divākara in the Vindhya forest in search of his sister. (See *avalambya dakṣiṇēna cha hastēna Mādhavaguptam* in the *Harshacharita*, uchchhvāsa VIII, p. 316). He is probably identical with the unnamed Mālava prince sitting behind Harsha, when Bāṇa went to the latter's court (*Ibid.*, p. 123). So there is no point in describing him as longing for the company of Harsha if he had been a prince of Mālava.

On the other hand, Mahāsēnagupta's son Mādhavagupta, who was much older than Harsha, may have longed to meet him when he heard of his victory over Śasāṅka and other kings. There is thus no evidence at all for identifying the two Mādhavaguptas. We do not know who was ruling over Mālava in this period; but he was certainly not one of the Later Guptas, all of whose inscriptions have been found in Magadha, far away from Mālwa. In view of this it need not be stated that *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta, whose inscriptions have been found in Vidiśā, did not belong to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty of Mālava, of which there is no evidence at all.

NOTES ON THE SO-CALLED 'QUEEN'S EDICT' OF AŚŌKA

K. R. Norman

1. INTRODUCTION

THE SO-CALLED 'QUEEN'S EDICT' of Aśōka reads as follows in Hultzsch's edition¹ and transcription :

- 1 (A) *Dēvānaṃpiyashā v[a] chanēnā savata mahamatā*
- 2 *vataviyā (B) ē hētā dutiyāyē dēviyē dānē*
- 3 *ambā-vaḍikā vā ālamē va dāna-[gah] ē va ē [vā pi a]mnē*
- 4 *kīchhi ganīyati tāyē dēviyē shē nāni (C) [hē]vaṃ...[na]*
- 5 *dutiyāyē dēviyē ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluyākiyē*

1.2 The most recent detailed study of this edict, to my knowledge, is a series of three articles in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* by C. D. Chatterjee.² Although these articles throw much light on the edict, there nevertheless remain several points which are worthy of comment.

2. EPIGRAPHY

2.1 Chatterjee thought that the use by the scribe of the akshara *sha*, instead of *sa*, in *-piyashā* and *shē* was a mistake.³ I have stated elsewhere⁴ my belief that the decision of epigraphists to read *sha* in these two words, but *sa* in *savata*, is hard to justify, since the difference in shape between the two aksharas in this inscription is very small. I am of the opinion that the Aśōkan scribes did not differentiate between *sa* and *sha*, and I therefore think that we should read *-piyasā* and *sē*.

2.2 Chatterjee comments on the unusual nature of the akshara *dā* in *dānē* in line 2 and states⁵ that it differs so much from the usual Brāhmī form that it seems rather to

be a Kharōshthī akshara. I cannot agree with this view. A careful examination of the facsimile seems to make it clear that when the scribe carved the edict he did it in conditions of some inconvenience, whereby he could only reach the extreme left- and right-hand sides with difficulty, so that the aksharas carved in the middle of the inscription were well formed.

2. 3 At the extreme left-hand end of the first line the first three aksharas are smaller than those immediately following and *dē* is very cursive, while *vā* and *naṃ* have short vertical strokes. Towards the right-hand end of the line the aksharas again become smaller and less well formed. They also slope down to the right, and the last three aksharas are smaller than the preceding ones. The final *tā* is unlike any other *ta* in the inscription, and barely half the height of *ta* in *savata*. In line 2 the last akshara but one (*dā*) is even more cursive than *dē* in line 1, and the aksharas *vī* and *yē* which precede it have short vertical strokes. In line 3 the final akshara (*nē*) is leaning over to the right, and the akshara *aṃ* which precedes it is shorter than the other two initial *ā*-aksharas in the same line, and also lacks their very rounded upper and lower left-hand strokes. What can be read of the right-hand end of line 4 indicates that there the aksharas were again becoming smaller. The *va* of [*hē*]*vaṃ* is barely half the height of *va* in *dēviyē* and *na* has a short vertical stroke. In line 5 the last five aksharas are out of line with the rest and are smaller, *kā* in particular having a very short vertical stroke. These aksharas slope down to the right and are badly formed, *la* being almost pointed at the bottom.

2. 4 Chatterjee pointed out⁶ that the scribe sometimes wrote the vowel mātrā a little below the top of the vertical stroke. This can be seen clearly in *dē* in *dēviyē* in line 2. In *-piyasā* in line 1 the scribe first wrote a low *ā*-mātrā, and then wrote another at the top of the vertical stroke, but did not obliterate the lower one, so that both remain. In *dēviyē* in line 2 and in *kīchhi* in line 3 the scribe wrote the *i*-mātrā low, so that some epigraphists have read the mātrā as *-ī*. I agree with Chatterjee that this low mātrā should be read as *-i*. The scribe therefore wrote *dēviyē* (as he unambiguously did

in lines 4 and 5) and *kichchī* (as is found elsewhere in the Aśōkan inscriptions). In *ganīyati* in line 4 and in *duṭiyāyē* and *Tīvala-* in line 5 we find the usual form of the Brāhmī *ī-mātrā*.

2. 5 The scribe sometimes failed to write a long vowel, e. g. *maha* = Skt. *mahā-* in line 1, *-vāḍikā*? (= Skt. *vāṭikā*) in line 3, *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) in line 4, and *va* (= Skt. *vā*) twice in line 4. In view of this fact we can assume that it was by error that the scribe omitted the *ī-mātrā* when writing *duṭiyāyē* in line 2, although he wrote it in line 5. We can therefore deduce that in the scribe's dialect, or in the dialect of the exemplar which he was copying, the word *duṭiya-* retained the historical *-ī-* sound found in Skt. *dvitīya-*.

2. 6 The scribe sometimes wrote a final long *-ā* which is common in the Kalsi version of the Rock Edicts and in some of the Pillar Edicts,⁸ and is doubtless a dialect feature idiosyncratically introduced by some scribes. In this edict the scribe wrote *-piyasā* and *vachanēnā*, but *savata* in line 1. Epigraphists disagree about *hētā* in line 2 some preferring to read *hēta*. Certainly the *ā-mātrā* is shorter than elsewhere in the edict.

3. GRAMMAR

3. 1 I have pointed out elsewhere⁹ that *hēta* is used as the correlative of the relative pronominal adverb *ata | yata* "where". Consequently in line 2 *hētā* must mean "there", not "here". Aśōka is addressing the *mahāmātras*, and saying "whatever there is there (= where you are)".

3. 2 Editors and translators have differed in their interpretation of *sē nāni* in line 4. As we have seen (§ 1. 1), Hultzsch takes the words to be the last two of sentence (B). Bloch, however, translates¹⁰ them as the first two words of the next sentence. Sircar¹¹ takes *sē* as the last word of one sentence, and *nāni* (which he takes as equivalent in meaning to Skt. *ētāni*) as the first word of the next sentence. I have pointed out elsewhere¹² my belief that *kāni* and *nāni* are particles, not pronouns, in the Aśōkan inscriptions, and are used in the same way as *kaṁ* and *naṁ* to which they are clearly related.¹³ The particle *kaṁ* is used six or seven times¹⁴ with *cha* in the Aśōkan inscriptions; *naṁ* is used once, with the present tense form *huvānti* to give the force of a past

tense¹⁵ (cf. the use of *sma* in Skt.); *kāni* is used four times with *cha*,¹⁶ and twice with interrogative pronouns;¹⁷ *nāni* is used once with *cha*, and once as a linking particle (cf. the widespread use of *nam* in this sense in Prakrit). Since *nāni* is not used as a pronoun elsewhere in the Aśōkan inscriptions, it is not likely to be a pronoun here. As a particle it cannot be the initial word in a sentence, and consequently Sircar's sentence division would seem to be unlikely.

3. 3 Chatterjee suggested¹⁸ that the word at the end of line 4, of which only the second akshara (*na*) is clearly visible on the facsimile,¹⁹ is *ganayē*, i. e. a second person singular optative in the sense of the plural. He read this singular form for the plural because he followed Hultsch in thinking that the word should have only three aksharas²⁰ because the aksharas at the right-hand end of the first three lines form a vertical margin. If we assume that the akshara at the end of the fourth line is immediately below the akshara at the end of the third line, then there seems to be room for three aksharas only. The aksharas at the left-hand end of each line do not, however, form a corresponding vertical margin, and we should have to assume that this was a deliberate action on the part of the scribe, who must have carefully calculated in advance the length of each line to ensure that, by varying the starting point of each line, the final aksharas would form a vertical margin.

3. 4 The image of a careful, painstaking, calculating, methodical scribe which this assumption evokes is not in keeping with the inferior workmanship which we have already noted at the beginning and end of each line. I do not, therefore, accept that there is necessarily any limitation upon the length of the word which we must read at the end of line 4. It should in any case be noted that not all epigraphists are as inflexible as Hultsch in their view of this matter: Bühler, for example, suggested²¹ that there was room for three or four aksharas.

3. 5 In other edicts addressed to *mahāmātras* Aśōka seems to use one of two grammatical constructions: either a future passive participial construction in *-taviya*, or an imperative in *-ātha*.²² I agree with Chatterjee in thinking that

ga is legible to the left of *na*. There seems, however, to be no chance of reading *ganitaviyē*, since the clearly visible akshara is *na*, not *ni*. To the right of *na*, *ya* and *tha* seem to be legible on the facsimile. I should therefore wish to read *ganayatha* or *ganayātha*. Although it would be possible to read *ganayētha* with Sircar, Aśoka does not seem to use an optative construction elsewhere when addressing *mahāmātras*. Incidentally if this reading is accepted, the position of the akshara *tha* at the end of the line is only fractionally to the right of *nē* at the end of the line above.

3.6 As I have pointed out elsewhere³³ *sē* can only be a nominative. Since *sē* and *nāni* must go together, as stated above (§ 3.2), we can deduce that *sē nāni* must be the last words of sentence (B), because *sē* cannot be the object of *ganayatha*. Sentence (C) must therefore start with *hēvaṃ*. It follows that *kichhi* must be the last word of the relative clause which begins with *ē*, and the correlative clause must begin with *ganīyati*.

3.7 The form of line 5, with *ti* following the words *dutīyāyē dēviyē*, is reminiscent of a gloss in a commentary where *tī* marks the end of the lemma, and what comes after it is the explanation. I am sure that this is how it is to be taken here, and I should translate: "to the second queen namely Kāluvākī, the mother of Tīvala."

4.1 Chatterjee assumed that this edict was addressed only to the *mahāmātras* at Kōsambi. I cannot see that there is any justification for this belief, for the first line clearly states that it is addressed to *mahāmātras* everywhere. Nor do I think that the edict was intended to let the people of Kōsambi know who was responsible for the benefactions they had received. I think the edict was intended to help *mahāmātras* with an accounting problem which had arisen; and I believe that it was sent as an appendix to an earlier instruction they had been given.

4.2 In sentence (B) the relative and correlative clauses contain only an indicative verb (*ganīyati*). This therefore is not an instruction for the future, but contains a statement about the present state of affairs: "every gift of the second queen, of whatever description, is (at present) counted,

i. e. accounted, to that queen.” The next sentence contains the imperative verb, and gives a command about future practice: “(in future) thus account it.”

4. 3 We read in pillar VII(CC) that Aśōka instituted *mahāmātras* to take charge of the distribution of gifts for himself and for his queens.²⁵ We may assume that these ‘charity commissioners’ had been given instructions about the method by which the financial accounting of the various gifts should be carried out. The instructions must have included a statement that the second queen’s gifts should be debited to her account under her title. It is easy to imagine a situation where the second queen was sometimes referred to by her title, and sometimes by her name. This could lead to confusion among the accountants, who had no account for her under her personal name. The obvious solution was to instruct the *mahāmātras* to debit gifts to the queen’s account under both her title and her name.

4. 4 This edict was therefore sent as an appendix to the earlier instructions. Since only the *mahāmātras* were concerned with these instructions, there was no reason why they should be published, i. e. inscribed, for all to read. This would explain why no copy of them has been found. Nor was there any reason why the appendix should have been published, and I think the *mahāmātras* at Kōsambi were wrong to do so. As far as we know, no other *mahāmātras* published it, although, as the edict clearly states, it was addressed (and presumably sent) to *mahāmātras* everywhere.

CONCLUSION

5. 1 The so-called ‘Queen’s Edict’ was sent by Aśōka to *mahāmātrās* everywhere to give instructions about the way in which the cost of gifts made by second queen in their areas was to be debited in future. A careful examination of the purpose and the epigraphy of the inscription enables us to conjecture the missing portion of the inscription with accuracy and to correct certain errors made, and idiosyncracies introduced, by the scribe while inscribing it.

5. 2 The ‘corrected version’ reads:

- 1 *dēvānaṃpiyasa vachanēna savata mahāmātā*
- 2 *vataviyā. hēta dutiyāyē ē dēviyē dānē*

- 3 *aṃbāvāḍikā vā ālāmē vā dānagahe vā ē vā pi aṃnē*
- 4 *kichhi ganīyati tāyē dēviyē sē nāni. hēvaṃ ganayatha*
- 5 *duṭīyāyē dēviyē ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiyē*

5.3 We may translate: "By His Majesty's command, *mahāmātras* everywhere are to be addressed (as follows): Whatever gift there is of the second queen in your area, either mango-grove, or pleasure-park, or alms-house, or anything else at all, that (at present) is accounted to that queen. (In future) thus account it: to the second queen, (namely) Kāluvāki the mother of Tīvala."

Notes:

1. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford, 1925, p. 159.
2. *ABORI*, Vol. 33, pp. 57-82; Vol. 34, pp. 30-50; Vol. 37, pp. 208-33.
3. *ABORI*, Vol. 33, p. 74 n. 1.
4. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 138-40.
5. *ABORI*, Vol. 34, pp. 47-48.
6. *ABORI*, Vol. 34, pp. 44-45.
7. The same vowel length is found in Pillar Edict VII (R).
8. The whole question of final long *-ā* is discussed in detail by K. L. Janert, *Abstände und Schlussvokalverzeichnungen in Aśoka-Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1972.
9. *IJJ*, Vol. X, p. 167.
10. J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1950, p. 159.
11. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, p. 69.
12. "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies VII", *JOI (B)*, Vol. XVIII, p. 226
- n. 3.
13. Undoubtedly these forms were originally pronouns, used adverbially, cf. *yat* and *ta* in Sanskrit.
14. There are six contexts in which *ca kaṃ* occurs. I have suggested (*JOI (B)*, Vol. XVIII, p. 225) that *cha ētakaṃ* at Girnar in Rock Edict XIV (D) is a mistake for *cha kaṃ hēta*, which had become *cha hēta kaṃ* in the exemplar the scribe at Girnar was following.
15. See R. Hiersche, *Die Sprache*, Vol. XI (1965), pp. 89-92.
16. In Pillar Edict IV (M) all versions read *va kāni*. In "Asoka and Capital Punishment" (*JRAS*, 1975, p. 18 n. 15) I have suggested that this is a mistake for *cha kāni*.
17. In Pillar Edict VII (GG) *kānichhi* is the interrogative pronoun with the particle *chhi* making it indefinite.
18. *ABORI*, Vol. 33, p. 60.
19. Facing p. 159 in Hultzsch's edition.
20. *ABORI*, Vol. 33, p. 58. In his corrected text (*ABORI*, Vol. 34, p. 43) he proposed to read *ganēyātha*.

21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 126 n. 20.
22. In Minor Rock Edict I the version at Rupnath reads *-taviya*, while that at Sahasram reads *-ātha*. See "Midle Indo-Aryan Studies X" *JOI(B)*, Vol. XXIII, p. 67.
23. "The Gāndhārī version of the Dharmapada" *Buddhist Studies in hononr of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 177.
24. *ABORI*, Vol. 33, pp. 80-81.
25. Pillar Edict VII (CC): *ētē cha aṃnē cha bahukā mukhā dāna visagasi viyāpaṭāsē mama chēva dēvinām cha*. "Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of gifts of myself as well as of the queens".

DODVĀD PLATES OF
JAYAKĒŚI III,
1209 A.D.

R. N. GURAV

THE DODVAD (Bailhongal Taluk, Belgaum District) plates are three in number. The ring and the seal are missing. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The plates measure 16" length-wise and 11" breadth-wise. The rims are raised to preserve the writing. The plates together weigh 8 kgs and 450 grams. The characters of the document are Nāgarī and they are well cut and the inscription is in a good state of preservation, except for a few words towards the end of the second plate, first side. Some clerical mistakes have crept in, in some places. The language is throughout Sanskrit. The first 33 lines and lines 78-81 are in verse. Some of the verses of these plates are found in the Kirihalasige plates ¹ (1199 A.D.) of the same king, and the Goa ² and Gāḍivore ³ plates of Shashṭha III.

After invocation to gods Śiva and Viṣṇu (vv. 1-3), the charter proceeds to give the genealogy of the Kadambas of Goa. The first king named is the mythical Jayanta Trinētra, otherwise known as Trilōchana Kadam̐ba (vv. 4-5). The first historical king mentioned is Guhalla I, the tiger-slayer (vv. 8-9). Then comes his son Shashṭha I. His exploits of attacking Goa and his outstanding character as an upholder of *dharma* are brought out in verses 10 and 11. His son was Jayakēśi I. He distinguished himself by effecting friendship between the Chōḷa and the Chāḷukya kings by his diplomacy (vv. 12-14). His son was Vijayāditya I (v. 15). Jayakēśi II was born to Vijayāditya I. (v. 16). Vikramāditya VI gave his daughter Mailaladēvī to him

being pleased with his valour and fame (vv. 17-18). To this couple were born Permāḍidēva and Vijayāditya II (vv. 19-22). Distinction of Vijayāditya in vocal and instrumental music, in dance, in poetry, in the use of arms and in the various *Sāstras* is brought out in verse 23. Jayakēśi III -was born to Vijayāditya II (v. 24). Three verses describe him in a conventional manner (vv. 25-27). His queen was Mahādēvī (v. 28). Their son was Tribhuvanamalla (v. 31). Five verses eulogise him, again in a conventional way (vv. 32-36).

Then comes the grant proper. Jayakēśi III, father of Tribhuvanamalla, in the 22nd year of his reign, (on 22nd January, 1209 A. D.), on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, in the presence of god Saptakōṭīśvaradēva granted the village of Doḍḍavāḍa, together with its six hamlets, viz, Kuṁmaḍige, Uḍukerre, Eḍavūru, Heggadde, Kūlavalli and Guṁḍavalli to several brahmins of various *gōtras* (lines 34-40). The names and *gōtras* of these brahmins, together with their shares are detailed in the next portion (lines 40-73). Shares were also granted for a *satra* (free boarding house), for the teaching of the *Ṛik*, the two *Yajus* and the *Sāma-vēdas* in the Kaṇva *śākhā*, for the reading of *purāṇas*, for arranging discourses, etc. Shares were also assigned for the *rāja-guru* Chāmḍra-śēkhara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya. Imprecatory passages follow next (lines 78-80).

The composer of the charter was Chaṭṭaṇārya, son of Sōmanātha and grandson of Jātavēda (line 80). The writer was Nāraṇa, son of Dugala, officer of the *tulā-divya* (lines 80-81).

The date of the grant is mentioned in lines 34-37 as the 22nd regnal year of Jayakēśi III, commencing from the Kaliyuga year 4218, Vibhava, Māgha śu. 15, Sōmavāra and *Sōma-grahaṇa* corresponding to 22nd January, 1299 A. D., Thursday (not Monday).

A number of geographical place-names appear in the plates. Of them Laṁkāpura is the city of Goa. It is metaphorically called Laṁkāpura while the island of Goa is called Simhala; Kāmchī requires no comment. Beluvala-dēśa is the famous division known as Belvola-300. Kāmpaṇa was a small division comprising of forty villages, mostly in the modern Navalgund Taluk in the Dharwar District. The vilages Jambu-

grāma, Chulika, Siṁdūru, Maṇiyūru, Kuṁmaḍiya, Heggadde, Kūlavalli and Guṁḍavalli are also mentioned but cannot be identified. Uḍukerre would be the present Uḍkēri, about four miles north-west of Doḍvāḍ and Eḍaūru may be the present Yaḍihaḷli about four miles east-east-by-south of Doḍvāḍ. Doḍḍavāḍa is the present Doḍvāḍ.

A number of interesting points are revealed by the plates.

(1) No external sovereign power is mentioned. This is so because the Kadambas of Goa were ruling independently from 1156 A.D. when Bijjala usurped the Chāḷukya throne. This point is also supported by the mention of the regnal year of Jayakēṣi III.

(2) The Navilugṁda *Kaṁpaṇā* was conquered by Jayakēṣi III during the period in question. This is suggested by the qualifying phrase *jaya-labdhā* for Doḍḍavāḍa. Throughout their long history, the Kadambas of Goa never before claimed any part of Belvola-300. In this connection we may note a couple of hero-stones found in Doḍvāḍ itself, mentioning the reign of Jayakēṣi III in 1207 A.D.

(3) Prince Tribhuvanamalla is given considerable importance in the plates. It is likely that he was responsible for the annexation of the Doḍvāḍ area by the Kadambas. In the grant portion, Jayakēṣi III is not referred to by himself but as the father of Tribhuvanamalla.

(4) An idea of trunk roads is obtained from the mention of a highway, passing through the western side of Doḍvāḍ, and described as *śata-daṁḍa-parimāṇa-vistṛita-mārga*. It is qualified by the words *anavarata-sukha-samchāra mārga* i. e. for constant and continuous free passage.

(5) The presence of a vast number of brahmin families at Doḍvāḍ attracts our attention. They are about 280 in number belonging to about twenty different *gōtras*. Some of them may have been residents of the hamlets of Doḍvāḍ. At any rate, Doḍvāḍ was a centre of learning.

The name of the composer of the present plates (1209 A.D.) is given as Chaṭṭaṇārya, son of Sōmanātha and grandson of Jātavēda. The Goa plates of Shashṭha III, dated in 1260 A.D. were composed by Chaṭṭaṇārya, son of Sōmanātha and grandson of Yajñavarya. So the composer of the Goa plates is

identical with Chaṭṭaṇārya of the Doḍvāḍ plates. This would show that Chaṭṭaṇārya lived for a long time and composed charters dated forty-one years apart. It also shows that Yajñavarya had another name Jātavēda. Further, the Gāḍivore plates Shashṭha III dated 1276 in A. D. were composed by Padmanābha, son of Chaṭṭaṇārya. The second part of the Halasi⁴ epigraph of Vijayāditya, younger brother of Permāḍidēva, dated in 1172 A. D. was composed by Yajñēśvarasūri. The composer of the Kirihalasige plates of Jayakēśi III dated in 1199 A. D. was Gaṅgādhara-sūri, son of Yajñēśvara. Reading all these passages together, we get a family of composers of royal charters of the Kadambas from Permāḍidēva (1172 A. D.) to Shashṭha III (1257 A. D.).

Likewise, the writer of the present Doḍvāḍ plates was Nāraṇa, son of Dugala, while the writer of the Goa plates was Nārāyaṇa, son of Durgaṇa. These persons appear to be identical.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12-14, 16, 28, 32, 37-41 *Anush-tubh* ; vv. 2, 3, 18 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 15, 25 *Mālinī* ; vv. 17, 20, 27 *Śikhariṇī* ; v. 19 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 21, 26, 34 *Vasanta-tilakā* ; v. 22 *Indravajrā* ; v. 23 *Sragdharā* ; v. 29 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 31, 33, 35 *Āryā*].

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

1. Om namaḥ Śivāya | Namas=tuṁga=śiraś-chuṁbi-chām-dra-chāmara-chāravē | trailōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē | [1*] Kriḍā-krōḍa-tanus-tanōtu jagatām
2. lakshmīm sa Lakshmī-patir=yad-daṁshṭr-āṁkura-chū-la-chuṁbi-vasudhā-chakraṁ samudbhāsātē sphāra-sphā-ṭika-Śambhu-liṁga-śikhar-ālaṁkāra-nīl-ōpal-ōdā-
3. r-aīśvarya-pad-ōtsav-ōchita-lasach-chūḍāmaṇitvaṁ da-dhat | [2*] Hastair=udhṛi(ddhṛi)ta-Simdhurāsura-brī-hach-charm-ōpariṣṭān=natō Gaṁgā-sāra-bharaiḥ sra-vadbhir=abhitah
4. kuṁd-ēṁdu-śāṁkh-āmalai = rājad-rājata-rajju-paṁjara-

charach-chhri-rājahamsaḥ-śriyaṁ bibhrat = tāmḍava-
ḍam̐barē Pura-jayī bhūyād = abhishṭāya vaḥ! [3*] Pura-
mathana-lalāṭa-

5. svēda-bim̐dōḥ Kadam̐ba-kshiritruha-tala-dhātri-saṁga-
tād = āvirāsīt | tribhuvana-nuta-kīrtti-śrīś = chaturbāhur-
am̐chchadh (am̐chad) = dhanur-ishu-phalak-āsiḥ śrī-
6. Jayam̐tas = Trinētraḥ | [4*] Trilōchana-Kadam̐b-ākh-
yām̐ sa ēv = āpa jaga-trayē | vaṁdyaḥ samasta-bhūpānām̐ =
ādyah̐ Kādam̐ba-saṁtatēḥ [|5*] Atha tasya kulē jātāḥ
kē = pi bhūpā
7. mahaujasaḥ | kṛit-ānēka-makha-khyāti-vidam̐bita-Biḍau-
jasaḥ | [6*] Saṁgita-gōshṭhīshu raṇad-vipaṁchī manōra-
māḥ kōmala-kam̐thavatyah̐ | madēna gāyam̐ti yaśām̐-
8. si yēshām̐ = ady-āpi vidyādhara-vāra-vadhvaḥ! [7*] Tataḥ
khyātō = bhavat = tēshu Paṁchānana-parākramaḥ Guha-
lla-nṛipatiḥ | śrīmān = Arjjunaḥ Pām̐ḍavēshv = iva! [8*]
Yah̐ sarva-kālām̐ mṛi-
9. gayā-vinōdē jaghāna yad = vyāghra-kadam̐bakāni | ady =
āpi sarvatra mahī-talē tataṁ vyāghra-mārīti vadam̐ti =
lōkāḥ! [9*] Tataḥ tataḥ sva-śauryēṇa ni-
10. rudhdha(ddha)-Lam̐kā-puraḥ śaraḥ Paṁchaśarasya
shashṭhaḥ Shashṭhō nṛipaḥ kō = py = abhavat = prasidhaḥ
(ddhaḥ) svayam̐ dharmabhṛitām̐ dhurīṇah̐! [10*] Niḥ-
śam̐kam̐ yasya rāmatva [m̐*] vaktum̐
11. vyaktam̐ = iv = ārayah̐ na ch = āmkita-hanūmadbhīr =
urōbhīr = upalakshitāḥ | [11*] Tataḥ prādurabhūch =
chhṛimān = Jayakēsi - mahīpatiḥ | yat - kīrtti - mukurē
bhām̐ti bhuvanāni
12. chaturdaśa | [12*] Yasya khaḍga-latā-Durgā bābusim̐hā-
sana-sthitā saṁparāya-samuch-cham̐ḍa-vairi-sairabha-
bham̐jani | [13*] Chōla-Chālukya-bhū-pālau Kām̐chyām̐
mitrē vidhāya yah̐ |
13. permaṭṭi-tūrya-nirghōshō = py = āsid = rāya-pitāmahaḥ |
[14*] Samajani Vijayārka-kshmā-patis-tasya sūnuḥ sa
punar = avidit-ānya-strī-vinōda-prasaṁgaḥ | parichala-
14. d-asi - lēkhā - kham̐ḍit - ārāti-pṛithvī-parivṛiḍha-gala-nir-
yad - rakta - sikt-āji-raṁgaḥ | [15*] Tatas = tyāga-jaga-

jhaṃpa - Jhaṃpaṇāchārya - dhuryatām bibhrad = abhr-
āpta-kīrtti[ḥ*]śrī-

15. Jayakēsi-nṛipō = bhavatḥ [16*] Yadiyair = ārūḍha-dvipa-
haya-rathair = ātta-vijayair = adhīśaiḥ sēnaiḥ sēnānām
chatur-udadhi-vēlāsu nihitān jaya-stambhān = ētē sapadi
khalu
16. dṛiṣṭvā jala-gajā dṛiḍh-ālān-aśamkā[m*] vidadhati
muhur = majjana-vidhi[ḥ*] ḥ [17*] Bhūbhṛi[t*]-trāṇa-
parāyaṇaḥ pṛithu-yaśō gāmbhīrya-ratnākara[ḥ*] śrī-
Permāḍi-nṛipaḥ payō-
17. nidhi-nibhaḥ Sōm-ānujām kanyakām ḥ yasmai vis-
mayakāri-bhūri - vibhavair = datv = ēbha-kōś-ādibhiḥ
khyāta - śrī - patayē sa Mailala - mahādēvīm kṛitārthō-
bhavat ḥ [18*] Tasmā-
18. d = asyām = ajani sujanō Vira-Permāḍidēva - kshōṇi-
pālō vijayi-Vijayāditya-pṛithviśvarō = pi śrīmach-Chhar-
vā[t*]-tridaśa-vinatāt = Parvatas = ātmajāyām śrī- Hē-
rāmbas = tribhu-

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

19. vana-nutas = Tārakāriś = cha yadvat ḥ [19*] Śarīraṃ
Śarvasya prakṛiti-subhagam nityam = iti yaḥ prati nāya
prajñā-ti(vi)ditā-param-ārtha-sthira-matiḥ ḥ tulām = ā-
20. ruhy = ōchchair = jagati vinutaṃ tayōr = ādya[ḥ] śrī-
mān = ajani Śivachitta-kshitipatiḥ ḥ [20*] Vāṇi - vibhū-
shaṇa-lasad - guṇa - nāmadhēyās = tasy = ānujaḥ sama-
bhava-
21. d = Vijayārka - dēvaḥ ḥ yad - vairiṇaḥ samara - sīmani-
nashta-śauryam = anvēṣṭum = anvaham = iv = ānuvana
[m*] bhramānti ḥ [21*] Virē jagam(n)-nētra-sudhā-
nidhāna(nē) yatr = ēkshītē mōhajushām dvishām drāk ḥ
22. hastām(n)-nitāmbād = api kāmīnām = astrāṇi vas-
trāṇi cha nishpata[m*]ti ḥ [22*] Jānē śāstrē cha śāstrē
nava-rasa-bharitē = lāmkrītē sat-kavitvē daisyām mārgē
shaḍ-aṃga-chchhavita-jala-yu-
23. tē-rāga-Gaṃgā-pravāhō (hō)ḥ nṛityē nān-āṃgahārē pada
kara-vara-vimṇyāsa-chitrē huḍukkā-viṇ-ōpāṃg-ādi-vād-

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The ink is dark and the handwriting is cursive.]



py = atiśayita-matir = Bhārati-bhūṣhaṇō yaḥ | [23*]
Mūrttaḥ prajānām = i-

24. va prāṇa-puṁjas = tasmā [d- a*]bhūch = chhri-Jaya-
kēsidēvaḥ | raṇ-āmbarē yat-kara-khaḍga-rāhur = aśō-
bhata grasta-sapatna-rājaḥ | [24*] Hima-kumuda-mṛinā
(ṇā) li-śamkha-kum̐d-ēṁdu-gaurair = iha jaga-
25. ti yadiyaiḥ plāvitē kīrti-pūraiḥ | api tamasi mahēlā jāta-
pūṛṇṇ = ēṁdu-śamkā dayitam = abhisaramtyō mam̐ḍa-
nam̐ śubhrayam̐ti | [25*] Śaśvad = yadiya ripavō giri-
kaṁdarā-
56. su tībra-kshudhā-hutavah-ēṁdhanatām = upētāḥ | kaṁd-
ārthinaḥ praharaṇair = nayan-ām̐ta-vāṁta-pāthō-bhi-
shēka - m̐ḍulām̐ = avaniṁ kham̐ti | [26*] Yadi-
yair = uddāma-dvirada-nikarair = am̐bara =
27. talē samutkshiptam̐ vairi-kshitipati-brīhad-daṁti-visa-
ram̐ | Sahasr - āksha[h*] prēkshya kshiti - dhara - dhiyā
pakshadalana - prayōgāya prāya[h*] smarati punar =
apy = ēsha kuliśam̐(am) | [27*] Mahā-bhāgya-nidhā-
28. nasya Jayakēsi-mahi(hi)bhṛitaḥ | Mahādēvi(vī) mahā-
rājñī samabhūt = tasya vallabhā | [28*] Anēka-sāmaṁta-
vilāsinīnām̐ śirastha-māṇikya-mayūkha-jālaiḥ | virājita-
[h*] pāda-nakhā-
29. niruddhair = alaktakēn = āruṇit = ēva yaḥsyā⁶ | [29*]
Arum̐dhat = īva prathamā satinām̐ vibhātī yā mūrtti-
matī kṛip = ēva | Sarasvatī mānava - paksha - pātāt =
prāpt = ēva lōkāch = Chaturānanasya | [30*] Tasmād =
asyām̐ sama-
30. jani guṇa-maṇi-samudaya-mahōdadhis = tanayaḥ Tribhu-
vanamalla - kshitipas = tri-bhuvana - rakshāvidhau dak-
shaḥ | [31*] Karē = ri-kari-kum̐bhēshu mastakēshu cha
vidvishām̐ | ēkō = pi sarbagaḥ khaḍgaḥ
31. subhatair = yasya dṛiśyatē | [32*] Tribhuvanamalla-
narē[m*]dras = Trinayana - kārum̐ṇya - puṁṇya-sam-
pūṛṇṇaḥ | iha kali-kalushita-lōkam̐ vimala-taram̐ kart-

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme blurring.]

tum = udyuktaḥ | [33*] Yasy = ēṁdu-ma[m*]ḍala-mayū-kha-vilāsa-

32. vatyā kīrtiyā jagamty=api chaturdaśa nirmalāni | jātāni kimtv = ali - kadaṁba malimasāni pratyarthi-pārthiva-mukhāni kṛitāni chitraṁ | [34*] Bhānur = iva bhāti bhuvanē Tribhuvanamalla-nṛipō = ti-tējasvī |
33. unmūlita-ripu-timiraḥ kara-dhṛita-kamal-ānuraktō-yaṁ (am) | [35*] Uttuṁga-sthiratarā-Mēru-ramya-rūpaḥ Kā-daṁba-kshitipati-vaṁśa-ratna-dīpaḥ | śrī-vīra-Tribhuvanamalladēva-bhūpaḥ prakhyātō jaga-
34. ti samuṁnnata-pratāpaḥ | [36*] Ēvaṁ guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁ-kṛitasya śrī Kādaṁba Śivachitta Vīra Tribhuvanamalla-bhūpatēr = janakaḥ śrī-Kādaṁba-kula-tilaka-śrī-Vīra Jayakēsidēvaḥ a-
35. śtṛ-āśīty-adhika-dvi-śat-ōttara-chatuḥ-sahasrēshu Kali-yuga-saṁvatsarēshu parāvṛittēshu sva-rājy-ānubhava-kālē dvā-vimśati-Vibhava-saṁvatsarē Māgha-māsē Paur-ṇamāsyāṁ Sōmavārē sōma-
36. grahaṇa-parbaṇi śrī-Saptakōṭīśvara-dēva-saṁnidhau Beluva[la*]-dēs - āmtargata - Navilugumda - kaṁpaṇa - madhyē jaya - labdham pūrba-prasiddha-sīmā-samanvita-[m] nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēpa-daṁḍa-śulka-ka-
37. r-ōpakar-ādy-āya-sthal-ōpētāṁ sthāna-mānya-vyatirik-taṁ ashta - bhōga - tēja-sāmya - sahitaṁ rājakiyānām = anaṁguli-prēkshaṇīyaṁ | gavādishu chār-ārtha-tṛiṇa-kāshṭh-ādy = ā...
38. [raṇ - ārthaṁ] cha anavarata - sukha-saṁchār - ārthaṁ paśchima-dig-bhāgē [Jambugrāmaṁ gamtuṁ] Chulike Simdūru-Maṇiyūru-puraḥsara-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

39. bhū-pradēśa-madhyataḥ śata-daṁḍa-parimāṇa-vistṛita-mārga-sahitaṁ Kummaḍige Uḍukerre Eḍaūru Heggadde Kūlavalli Guṁḍavalli nēma-

39. ...
 40. ...
 41. ...
 42. ...
 43. ...
 44. ...
 45. ...
 46. ...
 47. ...
 48. ...
 49. ...
 50. ...
 51. ...
 52. ...
 53. ...
 54. ...
 55. ...
 56. ...
 57. ...
 58. ...

40. bhish = shaḍbhir = ghōshaiḥ samamnvitam śrīmad-
Doḍḍavāḍa-grāmam nānā-gōtrēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyah
prādāt [*] Tatra Vasishṭha - gōtrāṇām Nārāyaṇa-
Nāgadēva-Jā-
41. vada-Narasimha - Chaṭyaṇa - Jēkaiyya-Śrīraṅga - bhaṭṭ-
ōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam = ēkaikā vṛittih | Dēvaṇa-
Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayōr = dvē dvē vṛitti | Gaṁgā-
dhara-bha-
42. ṭṭōpādhyāyānām sa-pādā vṛittih | Janārdana-Bhāskara-
Sōmēśvara-Chakrapāṇi-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam
tri-pād-vṛittih | Narasimha-Vishṇudēva-Nāga-
43. dēva-Padmanābha - Īśvara - Mādhava - Gōvimda-Sōḍhi-
Baladēva-Vishṇudēva - Janārdana-Jekkaṇa-Īśvara-bhaṭṭ-
ōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam dvi-pād-vṛittih | Mādha-
44. va-Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam sārḍha-
pāda-vṛittih | Padmanābha-Jātavēda-Mādhava-Āditya-
Divākara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam
45. pāda-vṛittih | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāṇām Mailāra-Mahābala-
Anamta - Sōmēśvara - Nārāyaṇa - Mādhava - bhaṭṭōpā-
dhyāyānām pratyēkam = ēkaikā vṛittih | Dā-
46. mōdara - Padmanābha - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayōs = tri-pād-
vṛitti | Basavaṇa - Brahma - Rēvaṇa - Āditya-Mādhava-
Dēvaṇa-Mādhava-Jakkaṇa-Pōti-Chāvaṇa-Padmanābha-
Nārā-
47. yaṇa-Rāma - Śrīdhara - Kēśava-Mailāra-Kēśava-Sōmēś-
vara-Rēchiyaṇa - Kēśava - Nārāyaṇa-Harihara-Āditya-
bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam dvi - pād - vṛittih |
Rāghava-
48. Basava - Lakshmidhara - Śrīdhara - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyā-
nām pratyēkam pāda-vṛittih | Kāśyapa-gōtrāṇām Mai-
lāra - Pōti - Gaṇapati - Chāmdra - Sāyidēva-Sōmēśvara-
bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
49. yānām pratyēkam = ēkaika vṛittih | Sāyidēva-Gaṁgā-

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The ink is dark and somewhat faded, making it difficult to decipher specific words or sentences.]

dhara - Heṁmma - Pōti-Ti(Tri)vikrama - Gōviṁda-bhaṭṭ-
ōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ । Vāsu-

50. dēva-Chaṁdra-Padmanābha - Śivaiyya-Mailaiyya-Bhānu-
Nāga-Brahma-Sōmanātha - Kaṁdarpa-Padmanābha-bha-
ṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ । Śaṁkara-
Mādhava-Hammai-
51. ya-Mahēśvara-Bhaṭṭaiyya-Dēvaṇa-Īśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
yānām pratyēkaṁ = ēka-pād-vṛittiḥ । Gārgya-gōtrāṇām
Trikoṭīśvara-Nāgadēva - Pāladēva - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām
52. pratyēkaṁ = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ । Chaṁdra - bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
yānām pād - ādhika - vṛittiḥ । Gaṁgādhara - Mahēśvara-
Gaṁgādhara-Nāgadēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ
tri-pād-vṛi-
53. ttiḥ । Chauḍarāya - Gōpāla - Narasiṁha - bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
yānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ । Kāmaiyya-Mādhava-
Rēchaiyya-Rudra-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ pāda-
vṛittiḥ ।
54. Harita - gōtrayōḥ Bhaṭṭaṇa - Vāsudēva - bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
yayōr = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ । Vijaya - Pāla - Dāmōdara -
Janārdana-Nāgadēva-Māidēva-Dēvaṇa-Mā-
55. dhava-Viṣṇu - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ tri-pād-
vṛittiḥ । Īśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇa-Chāvaṇa - Viṣṇu-Chauḍarāya-
Nāgadēva-Basavaṇa-Kutānuva-Basavaṇṇa-Mallidē-
56. va-Śrīdhara - Kommaṇṇa Nāgadēva - Jēkaṇṇa-Virūpā-
ksha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ ।
Pōti-Malidēva-Kēśava-Śrīrāma-bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
57. yānām pratyēkaṁ = ēka-pād-vṛittiḥ । Kauśika-gōtrāṇām
Īśvara - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pād-ādhika-vṛittiḥ । Malli-
dēva-Viśvanātha-Āditya-
58. Kōṭīśvara - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-
vṛittiḥ । Pāladēva-Mailāra-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayōḥ pratyē-
kaṁ = ēka-pād - vṛittiḥ । Bādarāyaṇa - gōtrāṇām Bhās-
kara-

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

59. bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām tri-pād-vṛittiḥ | Gautama-gōtrā-
ṇām Vijaya - Nimbādēva - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayō[ḥ*] [pra]-
tyēkam = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ | Kṛishṇa-Mādhava-bhaṭṭōpā-
dhyāyayōḥ pratyē-
60. kam tri-pād-vṛittiḥ | Gōpāla-Kāvadēva-Gōpāla-Rācha-
ṇa-Vishṇudēva-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyē-
ka[m] dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ | Pārāśara-A(Ā)ditya-bhaṭṭōpā-
dhyāyānām tri-pā-
61. d-vṛittiḥ | Viśvanātha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām dvi-pād-
vṛittiḥ | Kauṁḍinya-gōtrāṇām Pōti-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām
tri-pād-vṛittiḥ | Rudra-Sāyidēva - Dobbaiyya-Achyuta-
Vāsudēva-Kāvadēva-
62. Jēka-Pōti-Kāmaiyya - Mādhava-Vishṇu-Dobbaṇa-bhaṭṭ-
ōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ | Vatsa-gōtra-
Īśvara-Padmanābha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayō[ḥ*] pratyēkam
tri-pā-
63. d-vṛittiḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtra-Kāmadēva-Jakkaṇa-bhaṭṭōpā-
dhyāyayōḥ pratyēkam = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ | Nāgadēva
Bhaṭṭyaṇa-Narasimha-Harihara-Jēka-Śrīrāma-Vāsudēva-
64. Vāmana-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam dvi-
pād-vṛittiḥ | Dēvaṇa-Rāghava-Dhapa(ra)ṇidhara-bhaṭṭ-
ōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam pāda-vṛittiḥ | Jāmadagnya-
Vatsa-gōtra-Rudra-
65. bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām = ēkā vṛittiḥ | Gōviṁda-Āditya-
Vishṇu-Mādhava-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkam dvi-
pād-vṛittiḥ | Sōmanātha-Sōmēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayōḥ
pratyēka-
66. m = ēka - pād - vṛittiḥ | Śāṁḍilya - gōtra - Chauḍarāya-
Kēśava-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyayōḥ pratyēkam tri-pād-vṛittiḥ |
Sōmanātha - Hemmmaṇa - Gōviṁda - Mādhva - Kēśava-
bhṭṭāpādhyāyānām
67. pratyēkam dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ | Viśvāmitra-Mēlāra-Kēśava-
Kamchyaṇa - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ |

Bhāskara - Mailāra - Jēka-Gōvīm̐da - Kamala - Kaṇṇva-
bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pra-

68. tyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ | Viśvāmitra-Mahādēva - Bhārgava-Pīrumāla - Agastya - Sōmēśvara - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām = ēkaika-pāda-vṛittiḥ | Agastya-gōtra-Basavaṇa-Raidēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyā-
69. ya[yō]r = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ | Śālaṁkāyana - Gaṁgādhara-Mauna - Bhārgava - Nārāyaṇa - Upamaṁnyu - Vijaya-Kaṁṇva-Āditya-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām = ēkaikā vṛittiḥ | Ku-
70. tsa - gōtra - Nīlakaṁṭha - Ātrēya - Sarbēśvara-Kommaṇa-Gōpāla - Sarbēśvara - Brahmadēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ tri-pād-vṛittiḥ | Pūtimāsha-Vāmana-Kāśyapa-Bhīchaṇa-
71. Dēvarāta - Kēśava - Śālaṁkāyana - Sōmanātha-Kutsa-Vaijaiya-Padmanābha-Mauna-Bhārgava-Mailāra-Viṣṇu-vṛidha - Nārāyaṇa - Sāṁkhyāyana - Dāvaṇa - Kapila-Mādhava-
72. Dārshyāyana - Mujibhaṭṭa-Upamaṁnyu - Nāgabhaṭṭa-Ātrēya - Baṁka - Padmanābha - Gōvīm̐da-Lakhaṁṇa-Gōvīm̐da-Dobbaṇṇa-Lakhaṁṇa-Madhusūdana-Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛi-
73. tiḥ | Ātrēya - Mahādēva - bhaṭṭōpādhyāyānām pād-ādhika-vṛittiḥ | Satr-ārtham pād-ādhik-aikādaśa-vṛittiḥ | Ru(Ṛi)g-vēda - khaṁḍika - dvē - yajuḥ-sāma-Kāṁṇva-khaṁḍika - purāṇa - bāla - śikṣa - agni(i)-
74. śtā-prap - ārtha[m*] pratyēkaṁ dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ Dvē byākhyān-ārtham tri-pād-vṛittiḥ Paṁchikēśvar-ārtham = ēkā vṛittiḥ | Gārgya-gōtrē rāja-guru-Chandraśēkhara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyasya ti-
75. srō vṛittaya Īśvarasya dvē vṛittiḥ Vajrasya pādaḥ Sap-tasya pādaḥ | Bhāradvāja-gōtrē Śrīdharasya ēkā vṛittiḥ | Nārāyaṇasya pādaḥ Gautamē Saṁgasya = aikā vṛittiḥ | Nāga-Basavayō [r*]-dvau dvau

76. pāḍau Vṛishagaṇa - Vijayasy = aikā vṛitti[ḥ*] | Kāśyapē
Vishṇōḥ sa- pād - vṛitti[ḥ*] Kamalasya pāḍau Liṃgasya
pāḍaḥ Viśvāmitrē Vishṇu-Kamala-Kaumḍinya-Dobbaṇa-
Mādhava-Kaṇṇva-Nāga Ātrē Lōkaṇa-
77. Mailāra | Harita-Māyya-Basava - Śrīvatsa-Nṛisimhynām
dvi-pād-vṛittiḥ | Dharaṇīdharasya pāḍaḥ | Kausi(śi)kē
Viśvanāthasya pāḍaḥ | Madhuvasya pāḍaḥ | Guṃḍaval-
yām Chāmdraśēkhara-dē-
78. vasya tadiya koḍageyi-kshētr-ōttarataḥ dvi-nishka-rāj-āy-
ōtpatti-parimitam kshētram cha !⁷
79. Śrī-Jātavēda-vidushaḥ Sōmanathō = bhavat = sutaḥ | tat-
putra-Chatyaṇāryasya kṛiti jayati śāsanē | [40*] Du-
80. gala-śrēshṭha - putrēṇa tulā-dibya - niyōginā | likhitaṃ
Naraṇē[n = ē*]daṃ śāsanam cha nṛip-ājñayā | [41*] Iti
mamgala mahā śrī śrī ||

Notes :

1. *JBBRAS.*, Vol., ix, pp. 241-44.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 288 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV.
4. *JBBRAS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 278 ff.
5. From impressions taken by me, and verified from the plates.
6. Read *aruṇitā* iv = *āsyah*.
7. Vv. 37-39 in lines 78-80 are usual imprecatory stanzas.

THE TIRUVĒNDIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARĀJA III—A STUDY

T. V. Mahalingam

THE TIRUVENDIPURAM INSCRIPTION¹ of the Chōḷa emperor Rājārāja III (A.D. 1216-1256) dated in his 15+1 regnal year is distinguished from most other South Indian inscriptions as it does not record a donation or similar transaction but is of a purely historical character. The record is unique for its directness in the statement of facts without any exaggeration or suppression of details. The record might have been caused to be engraved at the instance of Appaṇṇa and Samudra Gōppayya, the two generals (*daṇṇāvakas*) of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Narasimha (A.D. 1220-1238) after their successful campaign in the Tanjore country in A.D. 1230-31, having been sent there to secure the release of Rājārāja III, who had been earlier defeated by the overgrown and rebellious feudatory Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and imprisoned in his own capital Śēndamaṅgalam in the South Arcot district.

Before going into the details of the inscription and its historical value it is necessary to know the political conditions in South India during the period. From the later days of the reign of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1218) the Chōḷa empire witnessed the growing weakness of the central government in a two-fold way, namely the increasing and frequent invasions of the Chōḷa country by the Pāṇḍyas from the south and the Hoysaḷas from the west and the coming into prominence of a few hereditary feudatories like the Kāḍavarāyas who ruled over parts of the South Arcot and North Arcot districts, the Śambavarāyas who ruled over parts of the North Arcot, Chittore and Chingleput districts and the Telugu Chōḷas who ruled over the Nellore and Cuddapah districts and extended

their power over parts of the Chittore and Chingleput districts, besides a number of other chieftaincies like those of the Bāṇas, Yādavarāyas, Gaṅgachōlas, etc. The reign period of Rājarāja saw the further deterioration of political conditions in the Chōla empire, which passed through a period of stress, degeneracy and decay. It saw the growing strength and aggressive activities of some of the feudal vassals in the Chōla empire, particularly of Kōpperuñjiṅga who fills a large place in the annals of the period, though instances are not wanting to show that there were still some loyal petty chiefs devoted to the imperial house. One hears also of political and defence compacts of a local nature for self protection.²

Kōpperuñjiṅga I³ (A. D. 1231-1240) became so overgrown and strong that he became a menace to the Chōla emperor in spite of his ties of marriage⁴ with the royal house, and Rājarāja III had to seek the help of the Hoysala king of the time, Vīra Narasimha II, more than once. Really on one occasion (A. D. 1231-32) immediately before the Hoysala invasion of the Tamil country with which this paper deals, Kōpperuñjiṅga defeated Rājarāja III in a battle at Tellāru in the present North Arcot district and imprisoned him along with his ministers in his own capital Śēndamaṅgalam. The subsequent events, the interference of Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II to secure the release of Rājarāja and his restoration to his throne are graphically described in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription under study.

The following is the purport of the inscription:

(Lines 1-3) When *Pratāpa Chakravartti* Vīra Narasimha heard that Kōpperuñjiṅga had imprisoned (*piḍittu-konḍu*) the Chōla emperor at Śēndamaṅgalam and was causing destruction to (Śiva) temples and Vaishṇava centres (*dēvālaya* and *vishṇusthāna*) with his army, he declared that (his) trumpet shall not be blown unless he maintained his reputation of being the 'establisher of the Chōla country' (*Chōla-maṇḍala-pratiṣṭhāśāryon*).

(Lines 3-4) He started from Dorasamudra, uprooted (*nirmūlamāḍi*) the [Ma]ha[ra*] kingdom, seized the ruler, his women and treasures and halted at Pāchchūr.

(Line 4) (Then) the king was pleased to order the destruction of Kōpperuñjiṅga's country and liberation of the Chōla emperor.

(Lines 4-5) (Accordingly), the *mahaprādhāni* (great Prime Minister), *paramaviśvāsi* (loyal minded) Daṇḍinagōpaṇ Jagadobbe gaṇḍaṇ Appaṇa Daṇṇāyaka and Samudragōppayya Daṇṇāyaka destroyed the (villages) of Eḷḷēri and Kalliyūrmūlai where Kōpperuṇjīṅga was staying and Toḷudagaiyūr where Chōḷakōṇ was staying. (They also) killed four persons among the king's (Rājarāja's) officers (*vēndaṇ mudaliḷ*) including Vīraṅga-nāḍāḷvāṇ, Jī(Chī)ṇattaraiyaṇ, Īlattu-rāja Parākkiramabāhu seized their horses as those of Koḷḷi Chōḷakōṇ.

(Lines 6-7) Having worshipped the god of Poṇṇambalam (*Poṇṇambala-dēvaṇ*) (they started again), destroyed villages including Toṇḍaimānallūr, cut down the forests and halted (*viṭṭu irundu*) at Tiruppādirippuliyūr.

(Lines 7-8) (From there they) destroyed the villages including Tiruvadigai and Tiruvakkarai. (They burnt and destroyed villages and the farms (*koḍikāḷḷaḷ śuṭṭum aḷittum*) to the south of the Vāraṇāvasi river and to the east of Śēndamaṅgalam; and seized and plundered the women. When they were about to advance towards Śēndamaṅgalam (*Śēndamaṅgalatte eḍuttu viḍap-pōḷir-aḷaviḷē*) Kōpperuṇjīṅga became afraid (*kulaindu*) and offered to the king (Vīra Narasimha) that he would release the Chōḷa emperor.

(Line 9) As the king agreed and despatched a messenger to the generals they liberated the Chōḷa emperor, went (with him), and let (him) enter (his) kingdom.

(The inscription was engraved in the Dēvanāyaka Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvēndipuram obviously because, as Hultsch says, the two Hoysala generals took leave of the Chōḷa emperor at that place after restoring him to his throne)

The identification of the places and persons mentioned in the inscription is important for understanding not only the course of events referred to in it, but also the persons involved. Hultsch, while editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, suggested a few identifications, which many scholars, who have worked on the history of South India during the period, have generally followed.

But in the light of a fresh study of the inscription, one finds that some of his identifications appear to require revision and

more details may be added about the persons involved in the campaign.

To take them up one after another :

Since the inscription was engraved immediately after the conclusion of a successful campaign against the central part of the Tamil country without any time lapse it may be presumed that the details contained in it are in chronological and sequential order. Dorasamudra the capital of Narasimha is the modern Haḷēbīḍ in the Karnataka State. Another important reference in the inscription relates to the Magara kingdom which the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Narasimha himself is said to have uprooted, seizing its ruler, women and treasure before halting at Pāchchūr. Here the Magara kingdom and Pāchchūr require careful identification. To take up Pāchchūr first, the inscription would have us believe that the Magara kingdom was uprooted by the Hoysaḷa king before he reached Pāchchūr for his halt in the course of his march into the Tamil country. Hultzsch has identified Pāchchūr of the inscription with the modern village of the same name near Śrīraṅgam (Tiruchirappalli district). Probably it is better to identify the place with the village of the same name ten miles to the west of the Jalarpet railway station on the Madras-Bangalore line. Pāchchūr which is itself a railway station is surrounded on all sides by hills with gaps through which armies could have easily passed to reach the territory under Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and his supporters. The objective of the expedition being only the defeat of Kōpperuñjiṅga and the release of Rājarāja III from prison and his restoration to his kingdom, there was no need for Vīra Narasimha to come to the lower Kāvēri area on that occasion particularly because the Pāṇḍya king does not appear to have invaded the Chōḷa country at that time,⁶ and Vīra Narasimha's son Sōmēśvara was then at Kaṇṇanūr not far from Pāchchūr ruling over the Hoysaḷa territory in the region.

The identification of the Magara-rājya is a problem. Curiously it is mentioned only in the Hoysaḷa records. The kingdom is first heard of in A. D. 1218 and an inscription dated in that year which calls Narasimha, *Chōḷarājya-pratiśṭhāchārya*, *Pāṇḍya-rājya-kōlāhala*⁷ and *Kāḍava-diśapaṭṭa*, also calls him *Magara-rājya-nirmūlana*. The context in which the Magara finds mention in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions makes it clear that the invasions

against Magara were but part of Narasimha's general policy towards the Tamil powers. The kingdom is mostly grouped along with the other Tamil powers and its defeat is alluded together with the defeat of the Pāṇḍya and the Kāḍava and the re-establishment of Chōḷa. Taking into account these facts it may be well presumed that the birth of the Magara kingdom was probably only in the last decades of 12th century. The period was marked by the decay of central power in the Chōḷa empire and also almost undivided attention of the Hoysaḷa kings in the north. Such a congenial political situation no doubt paved the way for the establishment of this Magara kingdom.

The Magara territory appears to have lain to the east of the Hoysaḷa kingdom⁸ and if not actually bordering on it could not have been very far away from its eastern frontiers. Hultzsch⁹ locates it in the Salem-Coimbatore region; Venkayya is inclined to identify it with Magadai-maṇḍalam roughly in the South Arcot district and Krishna Sastri¹⁰ thinks that it comprised parts of the Kolar district in the old Mysore state and of the Salem and South Arcot districts in Tamilnadu. Lewis Rice¹¹ identifies it with the Mahārājavāḍi country which included portions of the modern Chintamani and Mulbagal taluks of the Kolar district and a part of the Cuddapah district in Andhra Pradesh.¹²

Curiously the history of the Kolar district during the period throws light on the identification of the new born principality. It was lost by 1189 A.D. to certain Chōḷa feudatories by the Hoysaḷa. After A.D. 1171 Hoysaḷa records in the district get to be few and far between and stop definitely with A.D. 1188 to reappear only during the reign of Rāmanātha (A.D. 1254-95). This loss of the Kolar region to the Chōḷa feudatories by the Hoysaḷas was largely due to the confrontation of Hoysaḷas with the Sēvuṇas in the north. But the new principality does not appear to have accepted Chōḷa overlordship. This is evidenced by the fact that none of the inscriptions of the local chiefs that appear to have divided Kolar between them is found to make any mention of the emperor Kulōttuṅga III.¹³ Thus the Chōḷa supremacy in the area also ceased completely by the year A.D. 1212, since we have no records of Kulōttuṅga III after his 34th year (= A.D. 1212) in the region. Thus the new principality in the Kolar

district having exploited the political situation of the period seems to have flourished in the territory independently and acknowledging no masters. The Magara kingdom, which was different from Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled by Magadai-nāḍālvāṇ, may be taken to have lain in the Kolar territory or at least a good part of it, since it was to the east of the Hoysaḷa capital and to the west of the village Pāchchūr (near Jalarpet) from where the Hoysaḷa army moved into the Tamil country. The reason why it was called Makara or Magara is not clear.

This Magara kingdom continued to be a potent source of trouble not only throughout the reign of Narasiṃha but also during that of his successor Sōmēśvara. The terms by which the defeat of the Magara is referred to is expressive more of the language of the inscriptions than of the actual achievements of the Hoysaḷa king. Repeated references to that effect notwithstanding, the Magara kingdom was never really uprooted. Its king was only defeated in successive battles. Though a Hoysaḷa inscription¹⁴ of A. D. 1228 mentions the Nangali ghat in the east (leading into the present North Arcot district) as the eastern boundary of the empire, Narasiṃha had to encounter the Magara king again in A. D. 1231 to make his way into the Chōḷa empire. Therefore none of such defeats inflicted was evidently of a crushing nature.

From his camp at Pāchchūr Narasiṃha despatched two *daṇṇāyakas* Appaṇa and Samudra Gōppayya, with orders to carry destruction into the country of Kōpperuṇjiṅga and re-install the Chōḷa emperor in his empire. Accordingly the two Hoysaḷa generals marched straight into the heart of Kōpperuṇjiṅga's domain. The order was clear, and they carried out the instructions to the letter. There is no reference to the route of the march. Since there is no reference to any encounter on their way it may be taken that there was no opposition and they were able to make their way easily to challenge Kōpperuṇjiṅga in his domain itself.

The places where they sacked Kōpperuṇjiṅga and his lieutenant Chōḷakōṇ and killed some of his allies, can all be identified within the South Arcot district. The villages Elḷēri and Kalliyūrmūlai where Kōpperuṇjiṅga was staying may be identified respectively with Elḷēri a village on the south-west of the Chidambaram taluk and Kaliyamalai on the eastern bank of the

Virāṇam tank in the same taluk. Toḷudagaiyūr where Chōḷakōṇ was encountered may be the same as modern Toḷudūr (Toḷuvūr) in the Vriddhachalam taluk. The place of god Poṇṇamabaladēvaṇ was nothing but the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram. The village Toṇḍaimānallūr may be the same as the village Toṇḍaimānattam in the Cuddalore taluk. There is no difficulty in identifying Tiruppādirippuliyūr with Tiruppāpuliyūr (Cuddalore); Tiruvadigai with the village of the same name very near to the Pannurutti railway station in the same taluk; Tiruvakkarai with the modern village Tiruvakkarai in the Villupuram taluk. Śēndamaṅgalam, the capital of Kōpperuṇjiṅga was no doubt the same as Śēndamaṅgalam in the Tirukkoyilur taluk. The inscription records that the Hoysaḷa commanders spread plunder and pillage in the country to the east of Śēndamaṅgalam and to the south of the river Vāraṇavāsi. Obviously, this is an indirect reference to the territory administered by the Kāḍava chief. It is difficult to identify the river Vāraṇavāsi. Possibly it was the same as the modern Poṇṇaiyār passing through the Tirukkoyilur, Villupuram and Cuddalore taluks in the South Arcot district.

It is said that the generals in their expedition destroyed the residential quarters (*irunda*) of Kōpperuṇjiṅga and Chōḷakōṇ. Chōḷakōṇ was a personal name among the subordinates of the Kāḍava family. We come across a number of persons who had this name even from the period of Kulōttuṅga I. The Chōḷakōṇ of the present record, a contemporary of Kōpperuṇjiṅga I may be the same as Chōḷakkōṇ, a reputed lieutenant under him. As regards the other person named Kolḷi Chōḷakōṇ, from whom horses (cavalry?) were captured, he might have been a different person as he is mentioned separately and also with a prefix *Kolḷi* to distinguish his identity. The word *Kolḷi* prefixed to the name Chōḷakōṇ may be either a reference to the name of the village from which he came or a variant of the famous Kāḍavarāya prefix *Āṭkolḷi*.

In the course of action certain chiefs who assisted Kōpperuṇjiṅga and were formerly the *mudalis* of king Rājarāja III, were also killed. The first and prominent among them was Viragaṅga-Nāḍālvāṇ whose identity is not clear. The second one was Chīṇattaraiyaṇ. The actual meaning or signi-

ficance of this name is not clear. From a study of the Kāḍavarāya records it appears that three persons were called Chīṇattaraiyaṇ. The first one was a donor named Ēḷisai-nāthaṇ Chīṇattaraiyaṇ of Marudūr, who figures in a record¹⁶ of Kōpperuñjiṅga II, in the 16th year of his reign from Tiruveṇṇainallūr. The second one was a signatory named Chīṇattaraiyaṇ in the 21st year of the same chief.¹⁷ The last one was an officer named Chīṇattaraiyaṇ again from Tiruveṇṇainallūr dated in the 26th year of the same chief.¹⁸ Since this chief Chīṇattaraiyaṇ is said to have been killed it may be assumed that he was a member of this family of chiefs named Jīnattaraiyars and was killed in action. It is not clear, however, who the Ceylonese ruler Parākramabāhu was. He was perhaps some prince of the Ceylonese royal family and may be taken to correspond to the *mleḥchha* and *vaidēśika* help which Kōpperuñjiṅga commanded in this fight according to the author of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*.¹⁹

As a result of this invasion of the Tamil country and the restoration of Rājarāja III to his throne Vīra Narasiṁha's political influence in the Chōḷa empire came to be felt more and more, as may be seen from the evidence of two inscriptions of the 17th year of the Chōḷa emperor at Chidambaram, which mention grants to the temple at the place by (i) the Hoysaḷa generals and (ii) the Hoysaḷa queen Sōmaladēvi in A. D. 1232.

Notes:

1. *ARE.*, 1902, no. 142; *Ep. Ind.*, vii, pp. 160-96.

This inscription is engraved on the west wall of the *prākāra* of the Dēvanāyaka Perumāl temple in Tiruvēṇḍipuram, Cuddalore taluk, South Arcot district and consists of 9 lines in the Tamil language and script.

2. See *ARE.*, 1904, no. 223; *Ibid.*, 1913, no. 440; *Ibid.*, 1922, no. 46; *Ibid.*, 1903, no. 483; *Ibid.*, 1900, no. 115; *Ibid.*, 1902, no. 516; *Ibid.*, 1913, no. 435 and *Ibid.*, 1912, no. 489.

3. This chief was a prominent member among the Kāḍava chieftains acknowledging the overlordship of Rājarāja III in name till the year A.D. 1230 (*ARE.*, 1900, no. 136; *Ep. Ind.*, vii, pp. 163-64). He garrisoned Sēndamaṅgalam and strengthened his position (*ARE.*, 1903, no. 73; *Ep. Ind.*, xxiv, no. 6, pp. 228 f.).

4. See *SH.*, xii, Int., p. x and note.

5. *ARE.*, 1922, no. 418; *Ep. Ind.*, xxxiii, no. 27, pp. 180-81; a record of Kōpperuñjiṅga I from Vailūr, Wandiwash taluk, North Arcot district.

6. There was one Pāṇḍya invasion of the Chōḷa empire during the early years of Rājarāja III (A.D. 1220-23) and another invasion about A.D. 1235-36 during the same reign both by Māṇavarman; Sundara Pāṇḍya I (See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pandya Kingdom*, pp. 147-48).

7. *Ep. Carn.*, v, Cn. 203.

8. *Ibid.*, viii, Ci. 72 and Cm. 211a.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, vii, p. 161.

10. *QJMS.*, II, p. 121.

11. *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 104.

12. The present writer felt that the Magara territory formed part of the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom and the rulers ruling over it worked in subordinate cooperation with them. But it is better to take them as an independent chieftaincy which worked in cooperation with the Kāḍavas to undermine the power and prestige of the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja III.

13. The two chiefs were Pulludēva of Pudu Nāḍu who is mentioned in *Ep. Carn.*, x, Mb. 113a, dated A.D. 1207, Mb. 125 dated in A.D. 1210 and the Gaṅgachōḷa mentioned in Kl. 132 dated in A.D. 1198 and Kl. 130 dated in A.D. 1216 etc. The latter never acknowledged Chōḷa supremacy.

14. *Ep. Carn.*, v, Cn. 204.

15. This name Viragaṅga-nāḍālvāṇ sounds like a surname. It means the 'valourous ruler of Gaṅga-nāḍu'. It may be mentioned here that the territory of Tagaḍūr was also known as Gaṅga-nāḍu. Hence this person may either be a member of the Adigamāṇ family or a subordinate administrator under it.

16. *ARE.*, 1921, no. 455; *SI*, xii, no. 194.

17. *ARE.*, 1904, no. 119; *SI*, xii, no. 221.

18. *ARE.*, 1921, no. 433; *SI*, xiii, no. 256.

19. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (Second edition), p. 424.

20. *ARE.*, 1958-59, no. 310; *Ibid.*, 1962-63, no. 548.

SOME IMPORTANT ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIONS OF KASHMIR- A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY

B. K. Deambi

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY, we find in the Brāhmī alphabet of North Western India a distinct development of a new alphabet which, though agreeing in many respects with that used in the epigraphic and literary records of the 6th and the 7th centuries, including the famous Gilgit Manuscripts, shows several essential differences in the forms of several characters. This alphabet is known as the Śāradā alphabet. Though an alphabet of Kashmir *par excellence*, the Śāradā has remained for several centuries a popular script of an extensive area of North Western India including Gandhāra or the north-western part of West Pakistan, Ladakh, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi. Nothing is known for certain with regard to the origin of the name of the alphabet, but this much is certain that it must have originated in Kashmir which, from earliest times, has been the principal seat of Śāradā or the goddess of learning and has been named after her as Śāradā-maṇḍala or Śāradā-piṭha.

The earliest known record in which the Śāradā characters appear for the first time is a stone slab inscription discovered at the village Hund in the Attock district of West Pakistan.¹ It is dated in Sam 168 which according to D. R. Sahni refers to the Harsha era and corresponds to 774 A.D.² On the basis of this inscription, the earliest use of the Śāradā alphabet may be dated about 750 A.D. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab up to the 13th century when it was replaced by its descendant the Dēvaśeṣha which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurmukhi and Tākārī. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Śāradā alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Śāradā epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. In all 98 inscriptions have been discovered so far, 12 in North Western Pakistan, 35 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 36 in Chamba, 3 in Kangra and 1 in Haryana.

On the basis of the Śāradā characters used in these records three successive stages of development of the Śāradā alphabet can easily be discerned. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and the coins of 8th to 10th centuries, the 2nd by those of the 11th-14th centuries and the third and the final by the epigraphic and the literary records of the 14th and the subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Śāradā alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the latter half of the 8th century A. D., its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known until the 12th century A. D., when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakshali in Peshawar district of West Pakistan³. The manuscript which contains an important work on Mathematics bears no date but on palaeographic grounds it can be assigned to the 12th century.

We may now make a brief mention of some important Śāradā records of Kashmir and see what light they throw on the contemporary political and social conditions.

The two earliest Śāradā epigraphic records discovered in Kashmir so far belong to the reign of Queen Diddā. One of them is incised on the base of an image of the Bōdhisattva Padmapāñi, preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrīnagar and the other is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Śrīnagar and now lying in the Lahore Museum.⁴ The former, which is dated in the year 65 in the reign of Queen Diddā, records the consecration of a religious gift consisting of the image itself by a son of *Rājānaka* Bhīma and the latter, dated in the year 68, mentions a certain individual Dharmāṅka who gladdened his mother by charitable diggings (probably of wells, tanks etc.) and dedicated some charitable work, the nature of which is not traceable in the record, the text being lost at this place, to perpetuate her memory. The dates of the inscriptions probably refer to the Laukika era and correspond respectively to 989 and 992 A. D.

Both these dates fall well within the reign of Queen Diddā and thus attest to the correctness of Kalhaṇa's chronology.

The point of some historical importance in the two records is the mention of Queen Diddā with the masculine epithets of *dēva* and *rājan*. These epithets for the Queen sound rather queer but they would show how she was looked upon by the people of her times more as a powerful king than as a mere queen apparently because of her energy, political acumen and essentially masculine traits of character which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness for more than half a century in very troubled times.

The two inscriptions, further, present a glaring picture of the religious tolerance as practised in ancient Kashmir. While the one which contains an invocation of Lord Viṣṇu in the beginning attests to the flourishing state of Vaiṣṇavism in the valley in the 10th century, the other furnishes evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the valley about the same time. The predominant Brahmanic faith, however, appears to have exercised great influence on the contemporary Buddhist religion. An evidence to this effect is furnished by the image of the Bōdhisattva Padmapāṇi referred to above which represents the Bōdhisattva as wearing a sacred thread in the fashion of the Brāhmaṇas.

THE DACCHAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTADEVA :

Our next inscription in date belongs to the reign of Nantadēva. It is incised on a big hard-grained granite boulder which was discovered by R.C. Kak at Dacchan near Kishtwar. It is dated in the year 12 in the reign of Śrī Nantadēva. This king appears to be identical with the king Ananta who ruled Kashmir from 1028 to 1063 A.D. The year 12, presumably of the Laukika era, corresponds to 1036 A.D. which well falls within the reign of the king. The inscription does not provide any details about the king except the bare mention of his name. The findspot of the inscription would, however, show that Kishtwar lay within his empire. This seems all the more likely since Ananta's conquest of Chamba and Vallapura recounted by Kalhaṇa⁶ could not have been effected without the previous possession of Kishtwar which lay on the direct route to it.

This brief record is specially important as it furnishes evidence of the common man's active participation in the works of public utility even in the remote corners of ancient Kashmir. We learn that an individual named Mahimagupta constructed a bridge for the good of the people obviously at Dacchan where the inscribed stone was found. The official who designed the bridge bore the designation *Karmapati* and is probably the same as *Navakarmapati* commonly met with in inscriptions and signifying an officer in charge of new constructions. In our case, he was probably an overseer or *mistri* to whom the execution of the construction of the bridge was entrusted,

S.P.S. MUSEUM AND ARIGOM STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF JAYASIMHA

Our next inscription from Kashmir belongs to the reign of king Jayasimha. It is preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrinagar, and is dated in the year 25 which when referred to the Laukika era corresponds to 1149 A. D. The epigraph records the re-consecration probably of some image or religious institution by the son of a certain Bhāttagōvinda.

Except the bare mention of Jayasimha, the inscription does not furnish any information of historical importance about him. He, however, seems to be identical with the king Simha mentioned in our next important inscription, viz. the Arigōm stone slab inscription of the (Laukika) year 73 corresponding to 1197 A. D.⁷ which contains the interesting information of the latter having burnt a wooden shrine constructed by a certain Rāmadēva to house an image of the Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara near Gaṅgēśvara temple. The identification seems all the more plausible since the burning of Arigōm (ancient Hāḍigrāma in Jayasimha's reign is also referred to by Kalhaṇa who attributes the burning of the town to Jayasimha's powerful minister Sujj. It would seem that the shrine was burnt down along with the village itself.

For the history of religion in Kashmir, the Arigōm inscription, now lying in the S. P. S. Museum, Śrinagar is particularly important as it furnishes evidence of the continued flourishing state of Buddhism in the valley even as late as the end of the 12th century. From this inscription, as also from that of the

reign of Queen Diddā discussed above and of the reign of Rājādēva to be discussed below, we learn that the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, which first introduced the concept of Bōdhisattva in the Buddhist faith, had a great following in the Valley in the 10th and the subsequent centuries and that the worship of Bōdhisattvas was prevalent. This is particularly significant since Kashmir had remained for long a great stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāshikas.

Again, this well preserved epigraph from Arigōm contains an interesting information about the nature of the building material used in the valley in the 12th century. We learn that both wood and burnt bricks were used for architectural purposes for it is stated in the inscription that a certain Rāmādēva constructed a shrine of burnt bricks in place of the wooden one which was burnt by the king Simha, i. e. Jayasimha.

TAPAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMANDADĒVA

Our next inscription, incised on a huge stone lintel discovered from Tapar (ancient Pratāpapura) and now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum, records the consecration of something not recorded in the inscription but probably of an image or temple of which the huge inscribed lintel formed a part, by a certain Gaga, son of Jagarāja in the year 33, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the reign of Paramāṇḍadēva.

The mention of Paramāṇḍadēva as the ruling prince is of interest as the king of this name does not figure in the known list of the Kashmir rulers. The identification of Paramāṇḍadēva, as such, presents some difficulty. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigōm stone slab inscription of 1197 A. D. referred to above, we may assign the inscription to the 12th century and refer the year 33 to the Laukika era, corresponding to 1157 A.D. According to Jōnarāja⁸ the king ruling at that time in Kashmir was Paramāṇuka, the son and successor of Jayasimha. It seems that Paramāṇḍadēva of our inscription is the same as Paramāṇuka of Jōnarāja. Kalhaṇa mentions Paramāṇḍī as a son of Jaysimha and it would seem that Paramāṇḍī, Paramāṇḍadēva and Paramāṇuka signify the same person.

THE BIJBHARA STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAJADĒVA

A brief record belonging to the reign of king Rājādēva was

discovered by John Marshall from the house of a Brahmin at Bijbēharā during his tour of the valley in 1808-09. This epigraph merely mentions the name of Rājadēva as the ruling prince but does not tell anything of his reign. A brief account of his reign is, however, given by Jōnarāja⁹ who describes him as the son and successor of Jagadēva and as having ruled Kashmir from Laukika (42) 89 or 1213 A. D. to Laukika (43) 49 or 1236 A. D.

The inscription is dated in the year 58, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha. The year 58, if, as usual, referred to the Laukika era, corresponds to 1284 A.D. which, however, does not fall within the reign of Rājadēva. Marshall¹⁰ suggests that the date of the inscription should be referred to the Śaka era which was also sometimes used in Kashmir. The date of the inscription would in this case correspond to Laukika (43) 12, Vaiśākha śu. 7 which precedes the date of Rājadēva's death, viz. Laukika (43) 12, Śrāvaṇa śu. 11 as given by Jōnarāja, by three months and four days.

This brief epigraph which is now lying in a private house in Śrīnagar, records the consecration of Lōkēśvara-bhaṭṭārakamaṇḍalakam by Āchārya Kamalaśrīya. The exact meaning of Lokēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-maṇḍalakam is doubtful. According to Vogel¹¹ it may be the Tantric designation of a particular magical circle. The inscription is incised on a well-polished square slab with a round disc at the top. It seems that this round disc is the *maṇḍalaka* of the inscription. The term *bhaṭṭāraka* means a lord and Lōkēśvara is the alternative form of Avalōkitēśvara, the name of a famous Bōdhisatva. The entire expression would thus mean 'the *maṇḍalaka* consecrated in honour of lord Avalōkitēśvara'. It would seem that *maṇḍalaka* was a cult object used for the worship of Bōdhisattvas and that it was the practice among the Buddhists of Kashmir to consecrate the same with the aim of earning spiritual merit.

THE KOTIHER INSCRIPTION OF SHIHAB-U-DIN

Our next important but unfortunately badly damaged inscription was discovered from a well at Kotiher, ancient Kaptēśvara in the Anantnag district and is now lying in the Śrīnagar museum. It is incised on an oblong stone slab the right hand lower corner of which is broken leading to the loss of a good portion of the inscription. The epigraph

begins with an invocation of Lord Gaṇēśa, the remover of all obstacles and records the construction of some charitable work, probably a well by certain lady named Jōdha. By far the most important portion of the inscription is that which contains a eulogy of Shihab-ud-Din who was the ruling king when the inscription was put up. This eulogy, though purely conventional, is of importance as it contains some interesting facts about Shihab-ud-Din not known from the literary sources. The eulogy may briefly be summarised as follows:

“In the sacred country of Kashmir, a land of prosperity, rules the king of kings Sahabōdēna, a scion of the house of Pāṇḍavas; scorched by the blazing fire of whose unrivalled prowess, the enemies repaired to the far off lands, whose fame, spotless as the lustre of the thousand moons, filled the four quarters, by hearing the deafening and high pitched wang of whose powerful bow, the enemies ran away disarranged, by whom was conquered the land of the Madras.....”. The rest of the text is damaged and badly carved in incorrect Sanskrit and it is difficult to make any sense out of the preserved portion.

Leaving aside the conventional portion of the praise we notice two points in this eulogy which are important from historical point of view. First is the mention of Sahabōdēna or Shihāb-ud-din as a scion of the Pāṇḍava house. This apparently sounds queer, for a Muhammadan king could hardly claim descent from the Pāṇḍavas. Kedarnath Shastri¹² opines that the sultan took pride in being styled as a scion of the Pāṇḍavas as he wanted to link himself with the ancient lunar race of India to justify his family's accession to the throne of Kashmir by supplanting the Hindu dynasty of the valley. However, it seems more likely that the epithet is due to the pious wish on the part of the eulogiser to connect the great contemporary ruler to an illustrious and celebrated Kshatriya family of the past simply because of his greatness and prowess and without any specific consideration of the faith to which the Sultan adhered. The second important point is Shihab-ud-Din's victory over the Madras which is of great importance as the same is not mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles which otherwise gave detailed account of the victories of the Sultan.

The Madras are an ancient Kshatriya tribe whose history dates back to the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature, they

figure as a people who have been divided into two sections, viz. the Dakṣiṇa-Madrāḥ who lived in the Panjab and the Uttara-Madrāḥ who probably lived, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kashmir not distant from the Kāmbōjas¹³. In the *Aitrēya Brāhmaṇa*,¹⁴ the Madras are mentioned as living beyond the Himālayas. In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*¹⁵ Madra-dēśa or the land of the Madras is mentioned as a *janapada* or a kingdom along with Kāmbōja, Gandhāra, etc. In the *Mahābhārata* the Madras are mentioned as allies of the Kauravas and their king Śalya figures as the commander-in-chief as the Kaurava army. In the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Madras are mentioned in the form of Madrakas as an autonomous frontier tribe "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance".¹⁶

From these and several other references it seems that the country of the Madras lay in the Punjab. Its capital was Śākala or modern Sialkōṭ which stood on the bank of the Āpagā stream identified with modern Aik, a small stream which has its rise in the Jammu hills and flows to the north-east of Sialkōṭ.

Shihab-ud-Din is credited with the conquest of a large number of countries and towns in the Kashmir chronicles as e.g. Udabhāṇḍapura, Sindhu, Gandhāra, Purushavira, Hidgugosha, Suśarmapura, Bhautta, etc. It would seem that Shihab-ud-Din, while annexing Gandhāra, Western Panjab and some parts of eastern Panjab including Suśarmapura or Kot Kangra, also traversed the central Punjab and conquered the Siālkōṭ region or the Madra-dēśa as it was called then.

THE KHONAMUH INSCRIPTION OF ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN

We next pass on to an inscription which is incised on a rectangular stone slab lying at the mouth of a stream at Bhuyanēśvara situated on a hill side 1 mile above the village of Khōnamuh and visited on way to the pilgrimage to the famous *tīrtha* of Harshēśvara or Hariśvara. The record consisting of ten lines is written in verse with the exception of the date portion in the beginning which is in prose. It records the construction of a hermitage by a merchant named Pūrṇaka at Khōnamōṣa in the Kali year 4530 when Satisara was ruled by Jayanōlabadēna son of Sakandara, and Chindaka was the district officer at

Khōnamōśa. It further states that at Bhuvanēśa situated half a *yōjana* below the shrine of god Harshēśvara, where flows the celestial stream, remover of all sin, there came from the castle of king Jayāpīḍa, an ascetic named Gammatisōḍaka to practice penance. Having conquered Māra of powerful darkness he engaged himself in meditation, wishing to attain that state of imperishableness which knows no fall, and at the proper time he found the way to Śiva by means of that meditation. The last part of the inscription mentions two individuals Katha and Kanathaka who stood there as witnesses and names the writer of the inscription as Gaggaka.

It will be seen that the king Jayanōlabadēna, mentioned as the ruling prince when the record was set up, is undoubtedly the famous Kashmir ruler Zain-ul-abidin who ruled from 1420 to 1470 A.D., who was the son of Sikandara, Sakandara of our inscription, who was the king of Kashmir from 1389 to 1413 A.D. The Kali year 4530 corresponds to 1428 A.D. which would show that the hermitage was built in the eighth regnal year of Zain-ul-abidin. The hermitage is no longer extant. There is an old mosque at the site of the inscription but it cannot be said with certainty if this shrine represents the ancient hermitage.

The inscription is specially important as it contains some place-names like Satīsara, Khōnamōśa and the castle of Jayāpīḍa. Satīsara, as is well-known, is the ancient name of Kashmir which, according to a legend told at length in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, was originally a lake known as Satīsara. Khōnamōśa is the Khōnamuśa of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* (1.90) which is the ancient name of the modern village of Khonamuha situated 9 miles to the east of Śrīnagar. Khonamuha is the birth place of the famous poet Bilhaṇa, author of *Vikaramāṅkadēvacharita* who enthusiastically sings the charms of his home village in his celebrated work and describes it as situated in the vicinity of Jayavana, modern Zewan and as famous for its grape and saffron cultivation.¹⁷ The mention of the castle of king Jayāpīḍa is of interest as it is also mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* (iv.506) where a full legend is told in connection with its construction by the said king who was a grandson of the famous king Lalitāditya. The castle was popularly known in

Kalhana's times as 'Abhyantāra Kōṭa' or the inner castle. Bühler, during the course of his tour of the valley in 1875, traced the site of the castle near the village of Andarkōṭ situated on the Maṇasbal lake. It is mentioned by Śrīvara at several places in his chronicle and his references together with our own would show that the place continued to be known in the 15th century as Jayāpīḍapura or Jayāpīḍa-durga, the town or castle founded by Jayāpīḍa.

Another interesting feature of the record is the mention of district officer (*dēśādhipati*) along with the ruling king. The term *dēśādhipati* signifies the lord of *dēśa* which is a territorial unit commonly met with in the copper plate inscriptions. In the present case it denotes a district or a tahsil.

PARBAT GRAVE STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOHAMMAD SHAH-HARI

Our next well-known inscription is engraved on a rock in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-ud-din at Hariparbat. The inscription is widely known and has been referred to by Hultzsch, Kielhorn and also described briefly by Marshall in his Tour report.¹⁸ The inscription, which is accompanied by the Persian inscription in Arabic characters, of the same content, commemorates the death of certain Saida Khān, son of Aibrahim who fell in the battle near Jisṭhāludra mentioned as Takhta-Gahi-Sulaiman in the Persian inscription. The epigraph is dated in the year 60, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Muhammad Shah is undoubtedly the Muslim king of this name who ruled over Kashmir at chequered intervals from 1484 to 1537 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds, according to the calculations of Kielhorn, to Friday, 9th July, 1484 A.D.

There can be no doubt that the battle referred to in the inscription is the same battle which was fought at Śrīnagar between the Sayyids and the Kashmiri nobles in the time of the minor king Muhammad Shāh. The date of the inscription coincides with the date of the termination of the battle as given by Śrīvara.¹⁹

Saida Khān mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Saida Khān described by Śrīvara as one of the great soldiers who fought on the side of the Sayyids. Unfortunately

Śrīvara gives no details about Saida Khān and the identification of his father Aibrahm is as such difficult. In the Persian inscription accompanying our epigraph the name given is Ibrahim Shāh. Marshall²⁰ suggests that he may be identified with Ibrahim Shāh Sharqui, king of Jaunpur (1401-1440 A.D.) who along with his son Saida Khān seems to have fled to Kashmir on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlōl Lōdhi in 1474 A. D.

The two epigraphs furnish interesting evidence of the contemporary use of the Śāradā and the Arabic scripts in the Valley during the Muhammadan period.

THE ZAJI NAI INSCRIPTION

Our next interesting inscription is the Zaji Nai inscription which was found by R.C. Kak at the southern extremity of a mountain glen called Zaji Nai near Wadwan in the Doda district of Jammu.²¹ It is incised on a small lime stone block now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum. Owing to the stone being broken into fragments and some fragments being lost, the exact purport of the inscription is difficult to ascertain. From the mention of such phrases as *aśvapadam*, *praṭishṭhāpitan*, *aśvagōraksha* and from the occurrence of the figure of a horse at the bottom of the stone block, it may be presumed that the inscription records the erection of a stable for the protection of horses and cows or cattle in general. The inscription, like the one discovered at Dacchan referred to above, furnishes another instance of the ancient Kashmirian's active interest in works of public utility. As is well known, the cattle were then, as at present, sent to the pastures at high mountain peaks for grazing in summer. They were exposed to danger of being eaten up by wild animals. As such, the erection of a stable was a dire need which was fulfilled by a lay man of this remote region whose name is unfortunately not preserved in the epigraph.

Before winding up this note, it may be worthwhile to mention the sites of other inscriptions which have been discovered in the Valley so far but which, being fragmentary and sketchy in character, have not been included in the present study. These sites are:—Lodue, Avantipur, Bijbehara, Wular Hama, Martand, Digon or Kapal Mochan, Lasityal, Parepur, Sogam, Uskhur and Kotisar. The inscription found at Uskhur near

Baramula by De Ruyter, the then headmaster of the Church mission School at Baramula, is now lying in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania in U. S. A. It is engraved on the upper left hand portion of a relief which bears the equestrian portrait of a warrior on horse back. Written in badly formed Śāradā characters I have not yet been able to decipher fully the inscription.

It is also worthy of note that though Kalhaṇa explicitly states in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that he studied all types of inscriptions including the *Vāstu-śāsanas* or the inscriptions recording grants of things chiefly of land for writing his chronicle, no copper-plate inscription recording the grant of land has come to light so far. The copper-plate inscriptions are regarded as mines of historical information which fact is amply demonstrated by the copper-plate inscriptions of Chamba which have provided a solid base for the reconstruction of the history of this ancient hill state from the 9th century to the last known ruler in an almost continuous strain. The absolute absence of copper-plate grants in Valley cannot but be severely felt by any student of Kashmir history.

Notes:

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 97 ff.
2. *Ibid.*
3. The manuscript edited by G. R. Kaye in *ASI.*, New Imperial Series, Volume XLIII, Parts one and two.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 153 ff.
5. *Antiquities of Marev Wadwan*, pp. 24-25.
6. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII, 218.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 300-302.
8. *Dvitiya Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 39.
9. *Ibid.*, vv. 79-91.
10. *Note on a Tour in Kashmir*, p. 21.
11. Quoted by Marshall, *Ibid.* See also Summaries of papers read at the XXIII Oriental Conference (Aligarh Session), p. 140.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Vedic Index*, Volume I, pp. 84-85.

14. VIII, 14. 3.
15. IV. 2. 131.
16. *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 8, text line 22.
17. *Vikramāṅkadēva Charita*, XVIII, 70-72
18. Hultzsch, *Z.D.M.G.*, LX, p. 9; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 153; Marshall, *Note on a Tour in Kashmir*, pp. 17 f.
19. *Śrīvara Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 334.
20. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
21. R. C. Kak, *Antiquities of Marev Wadwan*, pp. 12 ff

REAPPRIASAL OF TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANHĒRI

Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale

KANHĒRI IS 9.6 KMS FROM BORIVALI, the suburb of Metropolitan Bombay. The cluster of Kanhēri caves is important in ancient Indian architectural history. It is especially noteworthy for its inscriptions which provide a mine of information regarding the life of Buddhist monks at Kanhēri. The credit for the publication of the first inscription from Kanhēri goes to Bird, who published eye-copies of 28 inscriptions in 1847. Some attempts were made by Stevenson¹ and West², in 1861, prepared eye-copies of nearly all the inscriptions and published the gist of almost all records. A few inscriptions were published by Burgess³ in 1883. The contents and short translations of these inscriptions appeared in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. But the stock of information offered by these inscriptions remained yet to be interpreted. In 1942 the late Dikshit in his thesis on the Buddhist Settlements of Western India tried to study the Kanhēri inscriptions once again with better readings but unfortunately his thesis has remained unpublished till to-day.

The present inscription is engraved in the cave No. 2. It is written on the dressed portion, which measures 87 cms x 23 cms. The inscription consists of two lines. It is deeply cut and distinct.

The language of the epigraph is Prakrit and the characters may be assigned to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. Burgess places this shortly after Puṣumāvi's time. Each individual letter is approximately about 9 cms x 6 cms x 0.2 cms. Regarding palaeography, the following points are noteworthy.

The letter *ka* denotes elongated form and the letter *gha* a slightly earlier form. The three vertical bands are not of equal height. There are two forms of *da* in the inscription. One is open to the left and the other is open to the right. The letter *ya* shows the early form.

The object of the inscription is to record the meritorious gift of the goldsmith Sāmidatta (Svāmidatta) of Kalyān (associated with the community of ascetics). The meritorious gift is of *paṇika*. Burgess tentatively interpreted it as a cistern and did not comment further. Bhagawanlal Indraji⁴ in the *Bombay Gazetteer* mentioned that the word *paṇika* means, in Sanskrit, vendor of spirituous liquor, and to support this interpretation he quoted Rhys Davids.⁵ Rhys Davids pointed out the ten concessions given to Buddhist monks: i) to keep salt, ii) to take solid food after mid-day, iii) to relax rules when the monks were not in monasteries, iv) to ordain and confess the private houses, v) that consent might be obtained after an act, vi) that conformity to the example of others was a good excuse for relaxing rules, vii) that whey might be taken after mid-day, viii) that fermented drinks, if they look like water, may be drunk, ix) that seats might be covered with cloth, x) that gold and silver might be used.

The *Gazetteer* has further noted that near the inscription there is niche where perhaps water or some other beverage was kept and given to the monks after they had finished their dinner in the adjoining dining hall.

The meaning of the word *paṇika* as cistern suggested by Burgess, and spirituous liquor as interpreted by Bhagwanlal Indraji cannot be accepted. The word *paṇika* may be taken in the sense of accusative plural of the word *paṇa*.⁶ The word *paṇika* occurs in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*⁷ meaning 'coin'. Nowhere the meaning of *paṇika* as spirituous liquor is found. Moreover, the meaning spirituous liquor cannot be justified in the inscription of a monastery. It appears to be far-fetched meaning. In the *Dīghanikāya*⁸ the Buddha himself taught his disciples not to take liquor. Offering of *paṇas* is the fitting donation of a *suvarṇakāra*. Unfortunately the number of *paṇas* is not mentioned in the inscription.

Another inscription is below the statue of the Buddha in the cave No. 2. The inscription records the names of some Brāhmaṇas who visited the Kanhēri caves, viz., Naṇṇa who was a physician, Bhāskara, Bhāravi, Cholladēva, Boppai, Bhaṭṭa Khasu, Āvvai, Pōhōi. Burgess assigned the script to the 5th century A.D. Here the following things are to be taken into consideration ;

i) The scarp of Kṛishṇagiri is thickly wooded. The surrounding of the caves is evergreen and picturesque. The caves are situated not far from the rich trade centres of Sopārā, Kalyan and Chemulya. The rows of cells, water cisterns, worn flights, cemetery suggest that Kanhēri was a prosperous monastery in Western India and that it was a cultural centre, which attracted articulated people.

ii) All the names of these visitors appear to be South Indian names. Out of eight, two are Prakrit names. It is interesting to note that the list of visitors includes the name Bhāravi, physician Naṇṇa, the persons who belonged to sophisticated class of society and lovers of cultural life. From the epigraphical evidence it appears that Bhāravi must have lived in the court of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana the younger brother of Pulakēśi II.

Ravikīrtti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. This indicates how the poet Bhāravi was well established by that time and how he was taken as a figure worth emulating. Panchamukhi⁹ states that Bhāravi in all probability lived around 600 A.D.

iii) From the list of the names of visitors one is tempted to conclude that the great author Bhāravi might have visited the Kanhēri caves. There was a great tradition of cultural contacts between Karnāṭaka and Maharashtra. The imposing *chaitya* of Kārle which was the most excellent in Jambū-dvīpa was carved by Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti. The gift of the door of the *Chaitya* at Kārle was made by Sīhadata, a perfumer from Dhēṇukākāṭa. It shows the cultural relations between South India and the western part of Maharashtra in ancient India. So far as the names of the visitors are concerned it may be said that even the visitors in 1700 A.D. and 1800 A.D. have carved their

names on the *stūpa* and pillars at Kanhēri. It is interesting to remember Lord Byron's visit to Cape Sunion in Greece near Athens where at the temple of Poseidon he has inscribed his name on a pillar.

Sopārā, the capital city of Aparānta and Sopārāhāra was a cultural centre in ancient times from the Mauryan period to the Śilāhāra period. In the Nāsik inscription of Nahapāṇa the Rāmatīrtha of Sopārā has been mentioned as a holy place. The inscription further records the donation of quadrangular rest-houses by Nahapāṇa. Even in the Śilāhāra period the king Aparāditya sent Tējaḥkaṇṭha from Śūrpāraka to the literary congress in Kashmir. It shows the continuous flourishing history of Sopārā. It was quite likely that the great poet Bhāravi himself had visited Kanhēri. It may be further noted that no other personality named Bhāravi except the poet has occurred in epigraphical records so far and therefore if we assign the paleography of this inscription to 550 A.D. it will be a new epigraphical evidence to determine the date of Bhāravi.

Notes :

1. *JBBRAS.*, V, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 1.
3. Burgess : *ASWI.*, Vol. V, p. 74.
4. *B.G.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 136, 166.
5. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 216.
6. Mehendale M.A., *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit*, p. 87.
7. Shamasastri R., *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, pp. 118, 282, 283.
8. Kaśyapa Bhikkhu, *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 158.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 93.
10. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 78.

NĀṆĒGHĀṬ INSCRIPTION RE-EXAMINED

V. V. Mirashi

IN AN ELABORATE ARTICLE entitled "Nāṇēghāṭ Inscription of an unknown Queen" published in the second volume of the *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Parameshwari Lal Gupta has tried to interpret the record in a novel manner. Till now scholars from the time of Bühler have taken it as recording the sacrifices and gifts of the Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā. She is generally taken to be the queen of Sātakarṇi, one of the early kings of the Sātavāhana family. Gupta, however, has come to the conclusion that the un-named queen in the record was the daughter-in-law of the family called Angiya; she was the wife of a *Mahārāṭhi* whose name ended in *Śrī*; she was the daughter of a mighty king of the south; and she was mother of the sons Vēdiśrī and Satiśrī. The former was the reigning king when the record was written. As the father of the queen is described as *Dakṣiṇā-patha-pati*, the inscription belongs to the latter part of the Sātavāhana period; for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is known to be the first Sātavāhana king who assumed that title. The inscription has no relation to the label inscriptions in the same cave which mention some early kings of the family.

These are revolutionary interpretations and must be examined carefully before they can be accepted. An attempt in this direction is made here.

Gupta has accepted three things which were first pointed out by us fifteen years ago.¹ They are as follows: (1) There is no obeisance to the prince Vēdisiri. *Kumāravarasa* in line 1 refers to Kārttikēya, and not to prince Vēdisiri. (2) The

queen whose sacrifices were recorded in the inscription was an old lady and was not acting as regent for *Kumāra* Vēdisiri. (3) The inscription contained particulars of the regnal date after *Vēdisirisa rañō* which are now lost.

Gupta thinks that, as the queen is described as the daughter of a lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the inscription must belong to the later Sātavāhana period; for the first Sātavāhana king who is known to have assumed that title was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (2nd century A.D.). This is *argumentum ex silentio*. Have we got complete records of the early Sātavāhanas from which we can draw this inference? The Purāṇas mention several kings of this family of whom we have neither coins nor inscriptions. They are not also mentioned in literature. Secondly, Gupta takes Vēdisiri to be the son of a *Mahārāṭhi* and still we find that he is designated as *rājan* in the first line of this record. *Mahārāṭhi* was a feudatory title. Was a *Mahārāṭhi* also called *Rājan*? The queen whose sacrifices are recorded in the large Nāṇēghāṭ inscription and who was the mother of Vēdisiri, called *Rājan* in line 1 and *dēva* in line 4, could not have been the wife of a *Mahārāṭhi* as supposed by Gupta.

If we examine the record carefully we shall find that the queen was first described in it as the *bālā*² (daughter-in-law?) of an invincible brave king of Dakṣiṇāpatha, then as the daughter of a *Mahārāṭhi* of the Aṅgiya family, who was renowned as the foremost warrior on the earth, next as the queen (*bhāriyā*) of a great (king) whose name ended in *śrī*, and finally as the mother of the ruling king (*dēva*) Vēdisiri and the prince Satisiri.³ Though the names of several personages in this passage are lost, it is easy to conjecture that she was the queen Nāganikā mentioned in one of the label inscriptions of the same age incised in the same cave. She is evidently described in the large inscription as the daughter-in-law of Śimuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana imperial family mentioned in the Purāṇas, whose statue was carved in the cave, then as the daughter of a powerful *Mahārāṭhi* (probably Traṇakayira mentioned in another label inscription), next as the queen (*bhāriyā*) of Sātakarṇi described as the greatest among the great (*mahatō maha*) (then dead), and

finally as the mother of the ruling king Vēdisiri and (the *Yuva-rāja*) Satisiri. It will be seen that this is a more consistent and better interpretation of the record than that offered by Gupta, who has not been able to identify any of the personages mentioned in it.

Bühler has shown that "according to epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little, but not much, later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts." The coins of some early kings of the family such as Sātavāhana, Sātakarṇi and Sāta (same as Sati) have been found, and Sātakarṇi is mentioned in an inscription on a gateway at Sāñchi. Vēdisiri who was ruling at the time was a *rājan* (king). There is no reason to suppose that he was a son of a *Mahārāṭhī*. There is a considerable portion lost at the end of line 3, and the beginning of line 4. It must have first named the *Mahārāṭhī* and stated that the queen was his daughter, and then described the Sātavāhana king as the greatest among the great and given his name (now lost) just before *sirisa* which occurs in the fourth line. It does not seem likely that this whole portion referred only to the *Mahārāṭhī* of the Aṅgiya family. Otherwise, we shall have to suppose that his son Vēdisiri was not a *Mahārāṭhī* like his father but was a *rājan*. It is more likely that the ruling king Vēdisiri was the son of a great king (*mahatō maha*) and a son's son of another king who was the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The label inscriptions evidently refer to some of the personages mentioned in the large inscription; for they are engraved in the same cave and their characters are similar.⁴ Gupta has raised some objections to this view which can be easily answered. He asks, "Why is Traṇakayira's statue not carved immediately after the dual statue of Nāganikā-Sātakarṇi, and why are not all the sons of Nāganikā including Bhāyala, Haksiri and Sātavāhana mentioned in the large inscription?" The reasons are not difficult to find. We have, of course, to rely on some conjectures as the inscriptions are mutilated and were engraved more than two thousand years ago.⁵ The label inscriptions were incised much earlier than the large inscription. King Sātakarṇi was then ruling. The statues were carved and their names incised in two stages. First, those of Śimuka, Nāganikā-Sātakarṇi, Bhāyaja, Vēdisiri and Satisiri were carved and named. The statue of

Traṇakayira was appropriately carved after those of the princes as he was a feudatory. Since then the statues of Vēdisiri and Satisiri and the labels over them have disappeared. Later, Nāganikā had two more sons, viz. Hakusiri⁶ and Sātavāhana, whose statues were subsequently carved and named by the side of Traṇakayira. Some years later, after the death of Sātakarṇi, when his son Vēdisiri was ruling,⁷ the large Nāṇēghāṭ inscription was engraved. It mentions the king Vēdisiri and the *Yuvarāja* Satisiri as the sons of the queen as they held important positions in the State. The queen-mother was then very old. She was leading an austere and restrained life, fasting for a month at a time and observing several vows. There is no reason to suppose that the large inscription was engraved in a totally different age and is not connected in any way with the label inscriptions. The mention of Indra and Saṅkarshaṇa (Balarāma) among the gods venerated in the beginning and the reference to numerous Vedic sacrifices performed by the queen indicate the high antiquity of the record.

The large Nāṇēghāṭ inscription is thus not of an unnamed queen. It is of Queen Nāganikā, the daughter-in-law of the great Sātavāhana king Śimuka, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and the wife of Sātakarṇi, his great successor.

P. S.—Nearly a month after this article was sent to the Editor for publication, P. J. Chinmulgund, I C. S. (Retd.) of Poona informed me that he had obtained a silver coin of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā from Junnar near Nāṇēghāṭ. It has the legend of *Siri Sāta[ka]-* and *Nāganikāya* with the figure of a horse on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol with a *svastika* in an orb on the reverse. The coin is being published in the next number of the *JNSI*. This coin clinches the issue. It leaves no doubt that the queen who performed the several Vedic sacrifices including two *Aśvamēdhas* was Nāganikā, the wife of king Sātakarṇi.

Notes :

1. *JNSI.*, XIV, pp. 14 f. Previously it was supposed that the inscription was engraved while Nāganikā was acting as a regent for her minor son Vēdisiri. *ASWI.*, V, 67; Rapson, *BMC (Andhras etc.)*, XIV; *HCIP.*, II, 499.

2. Only the *akshara ya* is legible. Bühler restored the word as *bālāya* and took it as referring to Nāganikā as the daughter of the *Mahārāṭhi* of the Aṅgiya family. But the position of *bhāriyā* and *mātuya* in the following portion suggests that it is to be connected with the preceding words *Dakṣhiṇā-patha (patinō)* and not with the following word *Mahārāṭhinō*. Perhaps the intended word was *vadhūya* (of the daughter-in-law). Rapson restores the word as *Kaḷalāya* on the evidence of a coin. *BMC (Andhras)*, XIV. This appears unlikely in the context.

3. See the similar description of the queen-mother Balaśrī as *Mahādēvī*, *mahārāja-mātā* and *mahārāja-pitāmāhī* in the Nasik Cave inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 60 f.

4. Bühler also thought that the characters of both are similar. *ASWI.*, V, 65.

5. Bühler also has remarked that owing to the mutilation of these records they present very considerable difficulties and the results must always remain open to adverse criticism... because conjectures and speculative combinations are required in order to obtain them.

6. We do not take Haku-siri as identical with Sati-siri. So the difficulty as regards his name pointed out by Gupta does not arise.

7. Bhāyala was taken by Bühler as a brother of Sātakarṇi, but in that case it is unlikely that his statue was carved in the cave; for no statue of Kṛishṇa, the brother of Śimuka, has been carved there. Bhāyala probably predeceased his father (Sātakarṇi).

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAHĒNDRAVARMAN'S TIRUCHIRĀPALLI EPIGRAPH

Michael Lockwood

A. Vishnu Bhat

THE READING OF ANCIENT epigraphs of the Pallavas is beset with many difficulties. There are the usual problems of philology. And in many cases these records have suffered from the passage of time and are damaged and fragmentary. But it would seem to us that the greatest problem standing in the way of a correct understanding of many of these epigraphs is a proper interpretation of their underlying spirit and philosophy. This observation is especially relevant to Mahēndravarmaṇ's famous inscription found in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. The Pallava king, Mahēndravarmaṇ I, excavated a cave-temple in the Rock Fort hill, in the centre of this town, in the early part of the 7th century A. D. In this cave-temple there is a carved wall panel depicting Śiva-Gaṅgādhara. And on the hard rock surface of the two pilasters which frame this panel, Mahēndra's inscription is engraved.

In 1890, E. Hultzsch edited and translated this inscription in the first volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*, pp. 28 ff. We have maintained in previous studies¹ that Hultzsch had not understood, or was mistaken on three major points with regard to the interpretation of this epigraph.

First, Hultzsch in his translation has wrongly interpreted the Sanskrit word *nidhāya*, and says that king Mahēndra 'placed' an image of Śiva in the cave-temple. Because of this misinterpretation, Hultzsch failed to understand that the inscription was specifically related to the Gaṅgādhara panel itself, which is carved *in situ*.

Secondly, Hultzscht did not understand that when king Mahēndra had the figure of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara carved, this figure was also fashioned as a portrait or representation of the king himself.

Thirdly, in the inscription, the expression 'Daughter of the Mountain' actually refers to the goddess Gaṅgā who is depicted in the panel, and not to Pārvatī as all scholars have been assuming since Hultzscht's day.

The significance of our reinterpretation is that we showed that the making of an image of a god which was also a representation of a human being was practised in India in the early 7th century A. D.

Recently our view has been questioned in a newspaper article by R. Nagaswamy. He points out that one of the verses of Mahēndra's inscription has been read as, "By the stone chisel a material body of Satyasandha was executed and by the same chisel an eternal embodiment of his fame was produced". The meaning 'stone chisel' is derived from the word *Śilākhara*. This is a wrong reading. From this wrong reading it has been suggested that Mahēndra made his own image in the Gaṅgādhara one.

I examined this inscription recently. The word in the inscription is *Śil-ākshara*, meaning a stone inscription. The fame of Mahēndra was made permanent not by the stone chisel carving his image, but by the inscription incised.²

Nagaswamy is quite right that there is an error in the reading of the word *Śilākhara*. An examination of the original inscription does reveal very clearly the proper reading of *śilākshara*. However, our view that Mahēndra made his own image in the very image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara does not stand or fall merely on the reading of one word, *śilākshara*.

As the word *śilākshara* is clearly engraved in this epigraph, the question naturally arises how Hultzscht could have read *śilā-[kh]ara* in its place. We can only guess that from the interpretative framework which he had established for the whole epigraph, this particular verse would make very little sense to him with the word 'stone inscription' instead of 'stone chisel'. Thus Hultzscht translated this verse as follows: By the stone-

chisel a material body of Satyasandha was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

Now Nagaswamy had said that the "fame of Mahēndra was made permanent not by the stone chisel carving his image but by the inscription incised"⁴. But this suggestion would be only half a solution because the real problem is not with the making permanent of Satyasandha's fame, but rather with the creating or making of a material body or figure of Satyasandha. How, Hultsch might have wondered, could a stone inscription create or give birth to a material body or image of Satyasandha?— *Silāksharēṇa janitā Satyasandhasya bhautikī mūrttiḥ Kīrttimayī ch = āsya kṛitā tēn-aiva śāśvatī*.

This problem has not been solved by Nagaswamy's article, either. The solution we propose is as follows. King Mahēndra was a noted poet. He pioneered the writing of farcical drama in Sanskrit with his two plays, *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*. We may assume that the author of this Tiruchi inscription was the king himself. King Mahēndra was also a noted artist. The royal title *Chītrakārapuli* ('Tiger among artists'), which appears in this very same cave-temple at Tiruchi, testifies to his artistic ability. The king's creative and inventive powers are praised here in another of his titles *Vichitrachitta*. Thus we may understand that both the poetry of the inscription and the marvellous sculpture of the panel in this cave-temple were a direct result of his creative inspiration. In this context, the above verse can be rendered in English as follows: (This) stone inscription (in the sense that it represents the inspiration of the poet) has given birth, as it were, to a physical body (i.e., the Gaṅgādhara image) of Satyasandha, and has (thus) produced an eternal embodiment of his glory.

'Satyasandha' is a well-known title of Mahēndra. It is found in the list of royal titles engraved on the facade pillars of this cave-temple, as well as in other cave-temples of his. 'Satyasandha' is also one of the 'Thousand Names' of the god Śiva. Thus we have an example of *dhvani* in the dual reference of the title 'Satyasandha' in this passage. The whole verse may be read as referring to the king or alternatively it may be read as referring

ing to Śiva. The plastic form of the carved Gaṅgādhara figure which represents Satyasandha is, in a parallel way, a king of sculptural *dhvani*, and also has a dual reference to both God and king. (This is a point which is being made, we believe, for the first time in Indian epigraphy and art).

As mentioned above, our view that Mahēndra made his own image in the very image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara does not stand or fall merely on the reading of a single word—or of a single verse, for that matter. Consider, for instance, the very first verse of the epigraph. In this verse, the self-identification of king Mahēndra with Śiva is expressed quite emphatically. However, Hultsch, in misinterpreting the word *nidhāya*, ends up with a translation at once perplexing and erroneous:— ‘When king Guṇabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on top of the best of mountains, he made in this way Sthāṇu (Śiva) stationary and became himself stationary (i. e., *immortal*) in the worlds together with him’.⁵ Hultsch’s reading of *nidhāya* as meaning ‘placed’ has led to the supposition by him and subsequent scholars that no less than three separate statues were ‘placed’ in the cave-temple by king Mahēndra! : (1) a stone statue (anthropomorphic) of Śiva, (2) a portrait statue of himself (the king) and (3) a statue of Pārvatī (this statue being postulated on the basis of another verse which speaks of the ‘Daughter of the Mountain’ taking up permanent residence on this mountain).

There is not a trace of any of these separate statues. Nor need there be any! There never were such separate pieces. Once the proper interpretation of *nidhāya* in this context is understood, the meaning of the whole epigraph with its specific reference to the figures in the Gaṅgādhara panel becomes obvious: When king Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) carved a stone figure (Gaṅgādhara) in the wonderful stone temple on top of the most splendid of mountains, this king, entitled *Vidhi* (the Creator), made *Sthāṇu* (Śiva) true to its meaning (stationary), and became himself *sthāṇu* (fixed, immortal) together with him (Śiva) before the eyes of the world.

Now let us consider the fourth verse where there is an identification of God and king. In this verse, the religious and philosophical basis of the identification of God with king is specifically stated: . . . this Purushōttama (Mahēndra) . . .

bore “on his head” (that is, incarnate in his features and in his mind) God immanent. The full verse may be translated thus : Having joyfully made this figure of Hara (the Gaṅgādhara image) which has no equal, and having made it on top of the mountain, this Purushōttama (Mahēndra), who (like the mountain) bore “on his head” (that is, incarnate in his features and in his mind) God immanent, thus made this mountain worthy of its loftiness.

The metaphor comparing the mountain to the king's head is poetically brought out in the 7th verse which may be translated thus : The mountain is, as it were, the diadem of the Chōḷa province, this temple of Hara its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śaṅkara (Śiva) its splendour.

The details of the metaphorical comparison in this passage are as follows : Śiva's splendour = splendour of chief jewel ; cave-temple = chief jewel of diadem ; mountain = diadem of king ; Chōḷa province = king.

Mahēndra's metaphor stands at the root of various titles assumed by later Pallava kings : (1) Śiva-chūḍāmaṇi ;⁶ (2) Chandrārdhaśēkhara - śikhāmaṇi ;⁷ (3) Mahēśvara - śikhāmaṇi - diptamauliḥ.⁸ And the key to a proper understanding of the meaning of these titles is found in the Tiruchi inscription in the phrase, *Śivam śirasi dhārayat ātma saṁstham*. The “bearing” of Śiva on one's head is merely a metaphor to express God immanent in one's mind, soul, or self.

Various scholars have suggested that some of the Pallava kings wore an image of Śiva (iconic or aniconic) on their heads. For instance, H. Krishna Sastri, in his commentary on the Vayalūr Pillar inscription (*Ep. Ind*, xvii, pp. 149-50) of Rājasimha Pallava (Narasimha-II), says : The adjunct *Mahēśvaraśikhāmaṇi - diptamauliḥ* which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means ‘one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Śiva)’, is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like *Śivachūḍāmaṇi*, etc. and the verse *yasyāṅguṣṭha - bhārākṛāntaḥ* etc. which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) and *ābhisēkhajalāpurnē* etc. in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2) — all with reference to king Rājasimha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *liṅga*, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse *Guṇabharanāmaṇi rājanyanēna*

liṅgēna liṅgini etc. (*ibid.*, No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, verse 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of “Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head.”¹⁹

We feel that this is to take too literally the metaphor and to fail to give due weight to the philosophy underlying the metaphor. Of course, one might argue that in Buddhist iconography, a small image of the Buddha or the symbol of the *stūpa* are found as head ornaments. But in Pallava iconography, there is no known example of any god's image (iconic or aniconic) appearing on the heads of the various royal portraits at Mahābalipuram and Kāñchīpuram.

Further, the very passages which Krishna Sastri cites as supporting the suggestion that a figure or symbol of Śiva was worn as a royal head ornament are themselves perplexing when interpreted in this way. Consider first the second verse of the second half of the Tiruchi inscription (*SII.*, I, No. 33.) (verse 6, below). We have tried to show in previous studies¹⁰ that king Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) possessed the *liṅga* (*sakala liṅga*, or anthropomorphic form of Śiva) primarily in the sense that his portrait was combined with the image of Śiva-Gaṅgādhara. We, therefore, give the following translation of this passage to bring out this primary meaning: As the king called Guṇabhara has (assumed in this manner) the form (of Śive), let this form (the figure of Gaṅgādhara, together with its great fame) turn back the faith (of people) from the surrounding enemy camp (and) forever manifest it (in its true form of Śaivism) throughout the world.

Hultzsch has given an alternate reading of the same verse in his translation of it: While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *liṅga* let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *liṅga*¹¹

Following Hultzsch's reading of this verse, some scholars, including Krishna Sastri,¹² would consider 'the knowledge (*Jñānam*) which turns back from hostile conduct' to be the king's knowledge, and thus this reading would give support

to the story that king Mahēndra was converted to Śaivism from Jainism. However, according to our own reading, *jñānam*, here, can be understood as the 'faith' of the people in general, and the king's spiritual enlightenment as being expressed by the two words: *liṅgēna*, and *liṅgini*. Thus the king's enlightenment would be the instrument of converting others to Śaivism from rival faiths.

Our view is strengthened from the *dhvani* (or alternate meaning) of this same verse—a meaning rather confusedly hinted at by Hultsch in one of his footnotes: "This whole verse has a double entendre. It contains allusions to the Indian logic (*tarkaśāstra*), in which *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate of a proposition and *vipakṣa* an instance of the opposite side".¹³

This suggested *dhvani* with reference to Indian logic has been repeated by later scholars, but the appropriateness of the logical terms in the present context has not been made evident by them.

First, we think that the proper logical basis for the *dhvani* is not that *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition and *liṅga* the predicate, but rather that *liṅgin* means the conclusion to be arrived at in an argument or inference, and *liṅga* means a reason advanced in support of the conclusion: *Liṅgin* = conclusion to be arrived at (*Pratijñā*); *Liṅga* = supporting reason (*hētu*). The whole inference, of course, is known in logic as *anumānaḥ*.

In this context, then, *liṅgin* would represent the conclusion to be established, *viz.*, that king Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) has attained spiritual self-identity with lord Śiva. And *liṅga* would represent the reason given to support that conclusion *viz.*, that the king achieved this spiritual self-identity with God through the path of reason (*liṅga*), that is, through the logical stages (*jñāna-yōga*) leading to final enlightenment.

And further, in this context, the verse states that the spiritual enlightenment of the king should become the instrument by which others were to be brought back to the fold of Śaivism from rival faiths (such as Jainism, Buddhism, etc.).

It is significant that one of the titles given to Mahēndra in the Tiruchi cave-temple inscription is *Anumānaḥ*.¹⁴ This

title of his should be understood in the above context: that the king had attained spiritual self-identity with God and thus had arrived at religious enlightenment through the power of logical reasoning (*anumānaḥ*).

As for the two other verses from later Pallava inscriptions (of king Paramēśvara I), which Krishna Sastri refers to as giving some indication of the practice of wearing an image of Śiva on the royal head-dress, these verses really make better sense when the metaphors they contain are not taken too literally, but rather are understood in the philosophical sense we have been expounding. Consider, first, verse 3 of inscriptions Nos. 18 and 19 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. I (inscriptions found on the Gaṇēśa-Ratha and Dharmarāja-Manḍapa, Mahābalipuram): The weight of (Śiva's) great toe was enough to plunge (Mount) Kailāsa together with the 'Ten Faced' (Rāvaṇa) down to the underworld, (and yet) Śrīnidhi (the king) (managed to) bear that 'Unborn' (Śiva) on his own head!

Here, we would maintain, king Paramēśvara 'bears Śiva on his own head' in the sense that God is spiritually immanent within the mind of the king—as specifically stated so in Mahēndra's earlier inscription.

The other passage referred to by Krishna Sastri is from the Atiraṇaṇḍēśvara cave-temple inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 21 and 22, verse 2): ¹⁵ The handsome face of Śaṅkara (Śiva) appears incarnate in the high-crowned head of the illustrious (king) Atyantakāma which, being sprinkled with the water of coronation and adorned with jewels of many colours, is, as it were, like a lake full of water which is fit for holy bathing and covered with lotuses of various colours.

Again, it is the idea of God being incarnate in human form which is expressed by the poetry—and not that an actual image of Śiva was fixed on the head of king Paramēśvara!

To return, then, to the Tiruchi cave-temple of Mahēndra, we would like to point out that for hundreds of years now, people have gazed on the Gaṅgādhara panel there and have not realized that they were also looking straight at a portrait or representation of the great Pallava king, Mahēndravarmaṇ I. It is philosophy which has allowed us such an insight.

TEXT

(Beginning on the northern pilaster:)

1. Śail-ēndra-mūrdhdhani śilā-bhavanē vīchitrē
2. Śailīn = tanum Guṇabharō nṛipatir = nnidhāya [1*]
3. Sthāṇum vyadhatta Vidhir = ēsha yathārtha-samjñam
4. sthāṇuḥ svayam = cha saha tēna jagatsu jātah [1*]
5. Gṛiham = akṛita Śatrumallō girīndra-kanyā-
6. patēr = ggirāv - asmin [1*] giriśasya giriśa-
7. samjñam = anvarthikartum = arthapatiḥ || [2*]
8. Vibhūtiḥ = Chōḷānām katham = aham = avēkshē-
9. ya vipulām nadīm vā Kāvīrīm = avani-bhavan-āva-
10. sthita iti [1*] Harēṇ = ōktaḥ prītyā vibhur = adīśa-
11. d = abhramliham = idam = Manu-prakhyō rājyē giri-
bhavana-
12. m = asmai Guṇabharaḥ || [3*] Nirmmāpitām = iti
mudā
13. Purushōttamēna śailīm Harasya tanum = aprati-
14. mām-anēna [1*] kṛitvā Śivam śirasi dhārayat = ātma-
15. samstham = uchachaiḥ - śirastvam = achalasya kṛitam
krit-ā-
16. rttham || [4*]

(Continuing on the southern pilaster :)

1. Kāvīrīm = nayan - ābhirāma - salilām - ārā-
2. ma-mālā-dharām dēvō vīkshya nadī-priyaḥ
3. priya = guṇām = apy = ēsha rājyēd = iti [1*] sāsām-
4. kā Girikanyakā pitṛi-kulam hitv = ēha manyē gi-
5. rau nityan = tishṭhati Pallavasya dayitām = ētām bru-
6. vāṇā nadīm || [5*] Guṇabhara-nāmani rājany = anēna li-
7. ṅgēna līṅgini jñānam [1*] prathatāḥ = chirāya lōkē vi-
8. paksha - vṛittēḥ parāvṛittam || [6*] Chōḷa-vishayasya
śailō-
9. maulir = iv = āyam mahā-maṇir = iv = āsya [1*] Hara-
griham = ēta-
10. j = jyōtis = tadīyam = iva Śāmkaram jyōtiḥ || [7*]
Śilāksharē-

11. ṇa janitā Satyasandhasya bhautikī [1*] mūrttiḥ kirt-
tima-
12. yī ch = āsya kṛitā tēn-aiva śāśvatī || [8*] Nishkṛishya-
chalāsa-
13. madhāyi Guṇabharē bhaktiḥ

TRANSLATION

(Beginning on the northern pilaster :)

V. 1 When king Guṇabhara (Mahēndra) carved a stone figure (Gaṅgādhara) in the wonderful stone temple on top of the most splendid of mountains, this king, entitled *Vidhi* (the Creator), made *Sthānu* (Śiva) true to its meaning (stationary), and became himself *sthānu* (fixed, immortal) together with him (Śiva) before the eyes of the world.

V. 2 The lord of this earthly realm, Śatrumalla (Mahēndra), made on this mountain a temple for the "Lord of Mountains" (Śiva) the husband of (Gaṅgā) the "Daughter of the King of Mountains", in order to make the name "Giriśa" true to its meaning.

V. 3 When Hara (Śiva) affectionately asked him: "How could I, while remaining in a temple on earth, see the great land of the Chōḷas or the river Kāvērī ?", king Guṇabhara, whose empire rivals the empire of Manu, assigned to him (Śiva) this mountain-temple which kisses the clouds.

V. 4 Having joyfully made this figure of Hara which has no equal, and having made it on *top* of the mountain, this Purushōtama (Mahēndra), who (like the mountain) bore 'on his head' (thāt is, incarnate in his features and in his mind) God immanent, thus made the mountain worthy of its loftiness.

(Continuing on the southern pilaster :)

V. 5 Being afraid that the God who is fond of rivers (Śiva), having seen the Kāvērī, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love with her (also), the Daughter of the Mountain (Gaṅgā) has left her father's family to reside, I reckon, permanently on this mountain, calling this river (Kāvērī) the beloved (wife) of the Pallava (king).

V. 6 As the king called Guṇabhara has (assumed in this manner) the form (of Śiva), let this form (the figure of Gaṅgādhara, together with its great fame) turn back the faith (of people) from the surrounding enemy camp (and) forever manifest it (in its true form of Śaivism) throughout the world.¹⁶

V. 7 This mountain is, as it were, the diadem of the Chōḷa province, this temple of Hara its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śāṅkara (Śiva) its splendour.

V. 8 (This) stone inscription (in the sense that it represents the inspiration of the poet) has given birth, as it were, to a physical body (i.e., the Gaṅgādhara image) of Satyasandha, and has (thus) produced an eternal embodiment of his glory.

By excavating (this) mountain (temple), Guṇabhara's devotion was (thus) given permanent expression.

Notes :

1. See, for instance, *Mahabalipuram Studies*, by Lockwood, Siro-money, and Dayanandan (Madras: The C.L.S., 1974), pp. 34-41.

2. "What Mahendra meant", *The Indian Express*, Madras edition, Saturday, June 28, 1975.

3. *SII.*, I, p. 30.

4. Nagaswamy, "What Mahendra meant".

5. *SII.*, I, p. 30.

6. A title applied to Rājasimha both in his Kailāsanātha temple inscription and Shore Temple inscription.

7. A title applied to Rājasimha in his Shore Temple inscription.

8. A title applied to Rājasimha in his Vāyalūr Pillar inscription.

9. See also T. V. Mahalingam's endorsement of this interpretation in his book, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1969), p. 124.

10. *Mahabalipuram Studies*, Nos. III and IV.

11. *SII.*, I, p. 29.

12. See also T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.* p. 76.

13. *SII.*, I, p. 29.

14. This title appears in the list of royal titles engraved on the pillars of this cave-temple. The same title, *Anumānaḥ*, is also applied to king Mahēndra in his Pallāvaram cave-temple inscription.

15. The same verse is found as verse 9 of Nos. 18 and 19. *SII.*, Vol. I.

16. The *dhvani* of this verse: "As the king called Guṇabhara has (attained spiritual union with Śiva as) *līṅgin* by (the logical power of reason) *līṅga*, may (he) *līṅgēna* (i. e., the king identified with Śiva) turn back the faith (of the people) from the surrounding opposition (of rival sects) and (in its true form) establish it permanently in this world."

INSCRIPTIONS ON HERO-STONES IN KARNATAKA

A. M. Annigeri

ACTS OF HEROISM WERE VERY COMMON IN OLDEN DAYS. Heroes distinguished themselves by doing heroic deeds whenever proper opportunities arose. People also appreciated the valour of the heroes by erecting stones in their memory and by donating lands called *raktamānya* and *raktakoḍuge*. The heroes were fired with the ideal of serving their villages and their lords, even at the cost of their lives. Life was a trivial thing to them when it was a question of personal prestige, the prestige of their village or of their master. They preferred to die like Kappe Arabhaṭṭa of the Bādāmi inscription than face infamy. Kappe Arabhaṭṭa is described as cherishing the noble idea :

*'Varam tējasvinō mṛityur na tu mānāvakhaṇḍanam
mṛityus-tat-kshaṇikō duḥkham mānabhaṅgam dinē dinē'*

Our ancient heroes valued three obligations, viz., *Jōlavāḷi*, *Vēlavāḷi* and *Leṅkavāḷi* as foremost in their mind. Heroes that died for the cause of their benefactor or lord who fed them were called *Jōlavāḷis*. This they did to save the life of their lord whenever he or his country or town was in danger. *Vēlavāḷis* were the trusted servants who were ready to sacrifice their lives for their master. Instances of fulfilling such obligations can be met with in the memorial stones set up at Bandaḷike and other places in Karnataka.

Voluntary deaths of heroes in other ways like performing *siḍi-tale*, *kīḷguṇṭe*, jumping on iron spikes and ascending the funeral pyre (*sati*) of the husband, jumping in fire at the time of the solar eclipse, throwing oneself in to a river on an auspicious

day, etc., were also in vogue in ancient Karnataka. Similar customs must have been practised in other parts of India also. Customs of offering the forefinger and later on the little and ring fingers and dedicating one's head at the feet of Bhairava or Chāmuṇḍā were equally prevalent in Karnataka. But I confine myself in this paper to deal with the heroes who died on the battle field whether big or small.

Setting up of hero-stones in memory of the departed heroes who fought and ascended heaven for the cause of their villagers, their master, etc., was considered the sacred duty of the relatives or his admirers. Stones set up commemorating the memories of heroes are innumerable and they can be found in almost all parts of Karnataka. Battles must have been fought from very early times but the idea of commemorating the death by erecting stone, and putting inscriptions on them may have been at least some 1,500 years old, if not older.

Almost every village in Karnataka has a hero-stone. Sometimes as many as twenty-five hero-stones can be seen standing in a single place, eg. the hero-stones at Kaikiṇi in the North Kanara District. They are set up along the road. The hero-stones standing in an enclosure at Gadag-Betgēri seem to have been collected from in and around Betgēri and placed there for preservation.

The earliest inscribed hero-stone so far as I know comes from Kūsnūr, in the Hangal Taluk of the Dharwar District. It belongs to the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The five male figures, depicted on the second panel of this stone are locally believed to be the five Pāṇḍavas. All those wear turban-like headgear. The hero seated on the pedestal is seen at the top panel.

The Mēvuṇḍi inscription¹ of Amōghavarsha (I) dated 864 A. D. seems to record the death of a hero whose name is lost. A piece of land is made over to Chikkaṇṇa. There are three sculptured panels on this hero-stone. The lowest panel depicts the hero on horse back accompanied by two drummers. Two persons standing by a pit are witnessing a person who appears to be on fire. Below this scene husband and wife seem to be sitting in a pit. To their left is shown the plough which is generally associated with the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

In the middle panel the hero is taken to heaven by flying Gandharvas and other celestial figures.

In the *chaitya* arch that is carved at the top of the stone are seated (the hero and his wife who have mingled with god) Viṣṇu and his consort.

There is an elegantly sculptured hero-stone² bearing writing, kept at the entrance into the Mamlatdar's office at Rōṇ, Dharwar District. It belongs to the reign of (the Rāshtrakūṭa king) Kannaradēva and states that his brother-in-law *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Permāḍi Būtārya was governing Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, etc. It records the death of Paṁpayya of the Vāji lineage in an encounter with Būtayya-permāḍi when the latter had attacked Rōṇ on 24th April, 942 A. D. The lowest panel depicts a battle scene wherein heroes mounted on two elephants and horse back were engaged. Three umbrella bearers are also shown. Paṁpayya who is stated to have lost his life in the fight appears to have merged with god Śiva who is flanked by two female flywhisk bearers. Śiva, shown in the central panel, is in the company of Viṣṇu and Brahma who are standing to the right and left of Śiva, respectively.

Śiva in the form of Naṭarāja is depicted at the top panel. The hero kneels in bowing attitude to his right and his wife seems to be at the left of the deity. Mahishāsuramardinī and Viṣṇu are carved at the right and left compartments of that of Śiva. One can surmise that the deceased hero had merged with Śiva in the second panel. In that case there was occasion for him to be by the side of Śiva on the top panel.

An interesting hero-stone hails from Bēgūr, Bangalore Taluk. It refers itself to the reign of the Gaṅga king Eṇeyappa at whose instance Ayyapadēva fought with Vīra Mahēndra at Tumbepāḍi and died. The king made a gift of the division of Beṁpur-12 after conferring on Iruga the Nāgattara-*paṭṭa*. This Iruga may have been the son of the deceased hero Ayyapadēva.

The sculptures on the above hero-stone are vividly descriptive. Warriors are fighting with spear, sword and shield, bow and arrow, sickle, etc. in their hands. Three warriors mounted on horses are darting arrows at their enemy who is on elephant back. Just above the middle horse is placed the flag staff below which a lady stands closely watching the battle. At the top is

the deceased hero Ayyapadēva seated in side-posture accompanied by heavenly dancers and flywhisk bearers. Before him stands another hero.

In the year 1016 A.D. when king Jayasimgha was ruling the earth and Kundarāja was governing Banavāsi-nāḍu, Karmara Barma, the (? trusted) servant of Śrichanda died in rescuing the women.⁴ He made good the text

Dvāviman purushau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala bhēdinau ।

Parivrāḍ = yōga-yuktaś-cha raṇē ch-ābhimukhē hataḥ ॥

This may be translated as follows: 'The disk of the sun can be burst through by these two (classes of) persons—the mendicant absorbed in *yōga* and the hero who dies in battle'. This Sanskrit verse which is from the *Mahābhārata* appears in an inscription from Shikarpur and also on the stone at Tiḷavalli, Hangal Taluk, Dharwar District, which depicts the scene of a *yōgi* who self-immolates by jumping in fire at the time of solar eclipse. A similar scene occurs at Bāḷūr in Hangal Taluk and at Kaujgeri, Ron Taluk both in the Dharwar District. Entering the disk of the sun was considered one of the most sacred and heroic ends in olden days. Karṇa is said to have achieved it. Kaṭṭarāja executed this hero-stone and Chikka, son of Barma, set it up. Māramayya wrote the record. Heroes dedicated their lives to the cause of their master. They trifled with death on the battle-field as they firmly believed that 'by getting victory they would acquire wealth and if they died in battle they would enjoy the company of heavenly damsels.' So they cared little for the mortal body that was to vanish in no moment. This idea prompted the heroes to perform heroic acts like facing the enemy in a fight, scaling insurmountable forts, and bringing back the cattle taken from their village, etc.

The notion that the heroes who die on the battle field enter heaven is very old. An inscription dated in Chāḷukya Vikrama year (47 = 1123 A.D.) states that Māra-sāhaṇi ascended heaven while fighting. The verse runs as follows :

Sāhaṇi Māram ripusandōhaman-avayavade mechchi palaram ।

Bāhābaladim pariye mahāhavado! nindu dēvalōkakkōdam ॥

Another inscription (Shimoga 37) dated in Chāḷukya Vikrama year 65, Raudri (1140 A.D.) states that Telliga Bammaṇṇa went

to the region of the gods while fighting to bring back the cattle Shikarpur 162 informs that Kētana, son of Dāsimeya, united with the god of gods (*dēvara dēva*) after bringing back the cattle of Baligrāma, i.e. Balligāvi.

Apsarases are described to have taken Helliga to heaven in the verse given below :

*Mechchemagendāgasadim | chachchamiḷitandu koṇḍu pōdar-
nnalavim |
dachcharaseyarādaradim | dachcharivaḍe bhujaṅgaḷā Helli-
ganam ||*

A verse appearing in an inscription (Shikarpur 243) gives a vivid description of the exploits of Mācha and says that he enjoyed the company of the heavenly damsels.

The Kannada poet Lakshmiśa⁸ (16th century) says that god Śiva included in his garland of skulls the heads of the devotees and heroes by name Sudhanva and Suratha who were the sons of Haṁsadhva. Though these heroes were ardent devotees of Kṛishṇa, Śiva being pleased with their valour gave them a place in his garland of skulls. Such is the honour given to the heroes.

Notes :

1. *SH.*, Vol. XI, pt. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, No. 36, plate v.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 35.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, No. Sk. 307.
5. *Ibid.*, No. Sk. 181.
6. *Ibid.*, No. Sk. 149.
7. *Ibid.*, No. Sh. 15.
8. *Kannada Jaimini Bhārata*, ch. 13.

THE NĀLANDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YAŚŌVARMADĒVA— A FRESH APPRAISAL

Shyam Manohar Mishra

DISCOVERED BY J. A. PAGE,¹ the Nālandā stone inscription of Yaśōvarman's reign has been studied by Hirananda Sastri,² R. C. Majumdar,³ A. K. Mrithyunjayan,⁴ R. S. Tripathi,⁵ E. A. Pires⁶ and several other scholars. But except its date, other problems relating to this epigraph have either been summarily treated or totally ignored. The present paper, therefore, reviews the contributions of earlier scholars and aims at making a comprehensive study of the various aspects of the Nālandā inscription.

THE DATE OF THE NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION :

Following J. A. Page, Hirananda Sastri originally took this inscription to be of the reign of Yaśōvarman of Kanauj.⁷ But later on, he attributed it to the time of Yaśōdharman of Mālwa.⁸

R. C. Majumdar has scrutinised the arguments of Hirananda Sastri and rightly ascribed this epigraph to the reign of Yaśōvarman of Kanauj. In his opinion, the palaeography of the Nālandā record and the name of the ruler, which is clearly Yaśōvarma, decisively decide its date.⁹ This identification is now generally accepted.

A. K. Mrithyunjayan, however, tenaciously endorses Sastri's arguments and conclusions and tries to refute the views of Majumdar. He (Mrithyunjayan) justifies the reading Yaśōvarma (instead of Yaśōdharmā) on the grounds that *Yaśas* is not a *dharma*, and that the designation Yaśōvarmadēva is much more reasonable than Yaśōdharmadēva.¹⁰

The views of Sastri and Mrithyunjayan have been examined by others.¹¹ And we may add the following fresh arguments against their contention and in favour of that of Majumdar :

(i) Yaśōdharman is described as *Janēndra* and *rājādhirāja-paramēśvara* in the Mandasor inscriptions,¹² but Yaśōvarman bears the simple title *Śrī* both in the Nālandā record¹³ and in the *Gauḍavaḥo*¹⁴ of Vākpatirāja.

(ii) The Mandasor inscriptions present Yaśōdharman as a devout Śaiva, whereas the Nālandā inscription opens with an invocation to the Buddha, giving no indication of Yaśōvarman's leanings towards Śiva.

(iii) If the Nālandā record is attributed to Yaśōdharman, it would imply his sway over Nālandā. The evidence at our disposal points to its inclusion in the kingdom of Nara-simhagupta Bālāditya,¹⁵ and Yaśōdharman in all probability could not bring it to his subjection. But Yaśōvarman's suzerainty over the kingdom of Magadha, which of course included Nālandā, is incontrovertible. It may also be added that Mrithyunjayan's arguments suggesting the change of the name Yaśōvarma are far wide of the mark.

These evidences, in addition to those adduced by Majumdar, preclude the possibility of Yaśōvarman's identity with Yaśōdharman and the Nālandā inscription belongs to the reign of Yaśōvarman. For, there was no other king of this name whose sway over Nālandā is so well attested and whose reign period is so close to that of the Nālandā epigraph.¹⁶

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE NALANDA INSCRIPTION :

This inscription records certain grants made by Mālāda, son of Yaśōvarman's minister Tikina, to Buddha's temple (erected by Narasimhagupta Bālāditya at Nālandā) as well as to the Buddhist monks. It seems to have been engraved after the completion of Yaśōvarman's conquests and before his discomfiture at the hands of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir.

The Nālandā inscription, unlike majority of the *praśastis*, contains very scanty historical data. It eulogises Yaśōvarman as an illustrious and glorious ruler who had completely destroyed his

enemies and was a distinguished protector of the world (*khyātō yō lōkapālah*), shining in every quarter like resplendent sun. But except these conventional encomiums, the present epigraph does not refer even to the ancestry, kingdom or capital of Yaśōvarman. Nor is there mention of any important event of his reign. Notwithstanding these significant omissions, the Nālandā inscription is an important document. It throws light on the extent of Yaśōvarman's kingdom in the east and north-west and adds that Nālandā with its magnificent monasteries and splendid *stūpas* was a great stronghold of Buddhism, marked for its academic eminence as before. We are also informed that the foreigners were appointed in important administrative posts and they were influenced by India's social and religious life.

STATUS OF MĀLĀDA :

The Nālandā stone inscription does not specify the individual status of the donor Mālāda. But certain qualifying phrases used for him point to his prominent official position, and his active involvement in administration. Thus he is described as a member of spotless family, a matchless and quick subduer of the enemies and the fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants, with wonderful deeds to his credit. And above all, he enjoyed the great favour of Yaśōvarman.

This seems to suggest that Mālāda, whose father held more than one important office, actively assisted Yaśōvarman in his military expeditions; and being pleased with his services and competence, he may have appointed Mālāda on some high post in military or civil administration. For, without giving such a status to him, it is difficult to explain how Mālāda could be an unrivalled and quick conqueror of the enemies of Yaśōvarman and what great favour he was granted by the Kanauj king.

The non-mention of Mālāda's official status in the Nālandā inscriptions may possibly be accounted for by the fact that the main purpose of the present epigraph was to present him as a devout Buddhist if not as a monk.

The name Mālāda is uncommon¹⁷, but the nomenclature Bandhumati and Nirmalā respectively of Mālāda's mother and sister are typically Indian.

PRATITA-TIKINA :

Tikina, the father of Mālāda, is referred to as a *mantri* (minister), *mārgapati* and *udīchipati* (*mārgapatēḥ pratīta-Tikinō udīchipatēr mantriṇaḥ*) of Yaśōvarman. Sten Konow derived the term *Tikina* from the Turkish Tegin or Tigin which according to him means a "prince of blood" and is specially used as a title of the son or brother of a Khan.¹⁸ It has also been taken to denote a Hūṇa king.¹⁹

The word *Tikina* is preceded by and compounded with the aejective *pratita* Hirananda Sastri interpreted it as "distinguished" or "well known". According to Buddhaprakash the title *prīṭita-Tikina* is given to Yaśōvarman's minister in recognition of his success against the Western Turks. He adds that the Turki princes described as Shāhī by Kalhaṇa allied themselves to Lalitāditya and acknowledged his suzerainty as a result of his victorious expedition. Then Lalitāditya appointed them on high posts and their close contacts with him probably led to his hostility with Yaśōvarman who had annexed some territory of the Turks.²⁰ Adris Banerji holds that many Turks, forerunners of Alaptagin and Sabuktagin, had accepted the services in the Hindu courts like the Shāhīs in Kashmir.²¹

The contention that Yaśōvarman's minister was the conqueror of the Western Turks and himself did not belong to that stock has has nothing to commend it. There is no evidence of Yaśōvarman's clash with Shāhīs and it is merely a gratuitous assumption that the close contacts of the Turki Shāhīs with Lalitāditya was the cause of his confrontation with Yaśōvarman.

The term *Tikina* definitely denotes a foreigner. Whether it was the name or the title of a Turki Shāhī or Hūṇa king cannot be said with certainty. It may, however, be pointed out that in the time of Yaśōvarman, the Hūṇas were not so strong as to cause disturbance in the interior politics of India. Therefore, we fail to visualise any valid reason for their alliance with the Kanauj king. But the Turki Shāhīs on the contrary were fairly powerful in the North Western Frontier from c. 654 A. D. upto about the middle of the 9th century, and they stood as bulwarks against the Arab invasions.

The alliance of the Turki Shāhī with Lalitāditya is understandable, but their association with Yaśōvarman is rather

difficult to explain. And in the absence of any positive evidence, we may hazard the following conjecture :

The Arabs who proved to be a constant menace to these Shāhis, had also sent their forces against the kingdoms of Kashmir and Kanauj. Lalitāditya, therefore, made political alliances both with the Shāhis and Yaśōvarman. Thus the danger of the Arab (and also the Tibetan) invasions was felt by all the three powers, viz., the Shāhis and the rulers of Kashmir and Kanauj. Hence they made alliances with one another. And Yaśōvarman, like Lalitāditya, appointed at least one, Shāhī Turk as his minister and incharge of the north-western boundary of his dominions which was exposed to the Arab attacks.

UDICHIPATI :

Udichipati has been variously interpreted as the “lord of the north”, “incharge of the northern regions”, “custodian of the northern routes of Yaśōvarman’s empire”, “mareschal the northern frontier”, “king of North Western Frontier Province”, and “the brave ruler of the north”.

The word *Udichī* in ancient Indian sources has been used to denote the northern quarter or one of the five or seven divisions of India, lying to the north and west of the river Sarasvatī. In some Purāṇas, it represents the territory lying between the East Punjab and the Oxus, while in others the *Udichyadēśa* includes Madra (Central Punjab), Gandhāra, Lāmpaka or Lāmbaka (Lamghan) and Balkh (Bactria).

In the present context, the meaning and significance of the term *udichīpati* can be understood properly only in view of the expansion and limit of Yaśōvarman’s kingdom in the north and north-west. According to the *Gauḍavaho*, Yaśōvarman, after crossing the Mandara mountain, triumphantly marched into *Uttaradiśā* (*Yaksāḍhipalakshitām*), where his valour became irresistible.²² Besides, certain coins of Indo Scythian or Little Kushāṇa type, bearing the name Yaśōvarman (?) have been found in Western Punjab and Kashmir. But the evidence of these sources is dubious.²³ And notwithstanding V. A. Smith’s assertion to the contrary,²⁴ there is no credible testimony to confirm Yaśōvarman’s victorious march upto the Himālayas in the north. Nor can his sway over the North Western Frontier territory be proved. For,

the Kārkoṭa king ruled not only over Kashmir valley, but also over parts of western and north-western Punjab, from the time of Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the dynasty. And his successors appear to have maintained their sway over these regions. As regards Kabul and Zabul, they were governed by the Turki Shāhi kings, whereas Sind and Multān were captured by the Arabs in 712-13 A. D.

Viewed in the light of this political condition, Yaśōvarman can hardly be believed to have extended his dominions beyond East Punjab. This inference finds support from the statement of the Korean Buddhist traveller Hui-Ch'ao who visited Jālandhara and several other states in A.D. 723-24. He tells us that the state of Jālandhara was the bone of contention between the kings of Kashmir and Kanauj;²⁶ and Kalhaṇa adds that it was ultimately annexed by Lalitāditya.

The account of *Gauḍavaho*, too, bears out Yaśōvarman's suzerainty over Śrīkaṇṭha (Thaneswar) and Kurukshētra,²⁷ but not beyond these territories. As regards Vākpati's description of Yaśōvarman's advance upto the Himālayas, it seems to have been added only to complete the conventional limit of a *Chakravarti* conqueror in that direction, and not because it was based on fact.

Thus whatever be the meaning of *udīchī* in other sources, the title *udīchīpati* in the present context should be taken to denote the incharge of the north-western territories of Yaśōvarman's empire, which comprised only Thaneswar and the valley of the river Yamunā, and did not extend beyond Jālandhara. Therefore, to interpret this designation as the lord of the north or north-western frontier is not appropriate.

MARGAPATI :

Tikina's title *mārgapati* has rightly been linked with his other designation viz. *udīchīpati* and translated as the chief of the guardians of the Passes or the Frontier, and "commander of roads". It has also been interpreted as the "warden of marches". But these explanations are not correct. For, in the first place, the north-western border of Yaśōvarman's empire, as has been discussed above, did not embrace any pass or passes. Secondly, the word *mārga* does not literally mean a pass or the

march (of the army). Of the various meanings of this word given in Sanskrit Dictionaries and Lexicons, road, path, canal or channel fit in the present context ; and the Sanskrit terms for a pass given therein are *vidarah*, *randhram*, *durga-mārgaḥ*, *saṅkaṭa-mārgaḥ* and *saṅkaṭa-pathaḥ*, not simply *mārgaḥ*. Thus neither the context nor the literal meanings of *mārga*, justify the above mentioned interpretations. *Mārgapati* in our view means a “superintendent of roads” or incharge of canals or trade routes of the north-western regions of Yaśōvarman’s kingdom of which Tikina was the governor.

The officer of this designation viz., *mārgapati* is not known from any other ancient Indian source, to the best of our knowledge. Some have, however, equated it with the *mārgaśas* (which has been interpreted as the guardians of passes) referred to in the Chronicles of Kashmir composed after that of Kalhaṇa.²⁷

But this evidence is much later and hardly applicable in the context of the Kauauj king.

Notes :

1. *ASI. AR.*, 1925-26, pp. 131 and 158 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.
3. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 664 ; VIII, pp. 371 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 227 ff. and 615 ff.
5. *History of Kanauj* (1964), pp. 205 ff.
6. *The Maukharis* (1934), pp. 144 ff.
7. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1925-26, p. 131.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 38 and 40-41.
9. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 664 ; VIII, p. 371.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 227 ff. and 615 ff.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 371 ; R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit* ; E. A. Pires, *op. cit*.
12. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 413, vv. 4 and 6.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 45, v. 2.
14. Verse 99.
15. *MAI.*, No. 66, p. 65, plate VIII b. c. *ASI., AR.*, 1935-36, pp. 50 ff. *Classical Age*, pp. 38 and 44. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chavang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 164 ; *Imperial History of India*, p. 33.

16. However, the arguments of Majumdar also need modification. The palaeography of an epigraph helps us in fixing only its approximate date. Further, the name Yaśovarman is not quite decisive in determining the date of the Nālandā inscription as there are other rulers of the same name during the 8th century.
17. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 122. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Baroda 1934), p. 93 and n. 3 v.
18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 39 and 41; *ABORI.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 4-6 and 225; *IC.*, Vol. XV, p. 211; Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 106 ff.
19. *The Shāhīs of Afghanistan and Punjab*, pp. 56-57.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07.
21. *IC.*, Vol. XV, p. 211.
22. Verses 510-11.
23. *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 549 ff. ; 1909, pp. 105 ff.
24. *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 779.
25. *JIH.*, Vol. XLV. pt. 1. p. 169.
26. Verses 484-491.
27. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II. pp. 391-92.

12

PĀṆDYA- ĀLUPA COINS

R. Nagaswamy

SIR WALTER ELLIOT IN HIS WORK *Coins of southern India* has illustrated three coins under the Pāṇdyas (Nos. 129, 130 and 131):

No. 129: Gold. Weight 57 grains. Obverse: two fish under an umbrella flanked on right by lamp and on left by chowrie, sun and moon above. Reverse: legend in Nāgarī uncertain (*Conf. As. Res.*, XVII, 592-3, Pl. IV. p. 81).

No. 130: Gold. Weight 6.5 grains. Obverse: two fish. Reverse: unre cognizable.

No. 131: Gold. Weight - 6.2 grains. Obverse: a fish. Reverse: figure before an altar.

These two coins, Nos. 129, 131, with several others having one or two fish or a boar were found in Rajamahendri and may be connected with Chōḷ-Chāḷukya period.¹

Writing on the same subject T. Desikachari states: Pāṇḍyan gold coins are met with but rarely and are generally ill-designed *fanams* bearing on the obverse the figure of a man and on the reverse the legend which if complete may be read as *Sunadra Pāṇḍyan*. The late Lieut General Pearse in his papers, bequeathed to the Government Central Museum, gave the following description of a gold coin which he procured in a London market for sixteen shillings. Obverse: Two fishes lying horizontally. Above is an alligator. Two standards or *dhvajastambhas* or Pillars of Victory are supporters of central design. Reverse: Three lines of old, bold Nāgarī characters which have not been read. Col. Mackenzie noticing a coin of the same description attributes it to the ancient Pāṇdyas.²

Following the above, T. Desikachari hazarded a guess, quite correctly, in the following lines: "Similar coins were found in South Canara which were probably issued by a branch of the Pāṇḍyas who had settled there."³

Vidya Prakash repeats the same identification in his *Coinage of South India*⁴ and quotes *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report* and Biddaulp.⁵ He writes: "The coins with fishes associated with conch and wheel and Nāgarī legend *Śrī Pāṇḍya Vanarapa*, may be attributed to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The coins bearing Kannaḍa legend *Śrī Pāṇḍya Dhanāñjaya* may also be attributed to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II. Kannḍa had influenced the Pāṇḍya coinage because of close matrimonial relationship of the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was a sister's son of Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara".⁶

These coins, however, are not the issues of Pāṇḍyas of Madurai but were issued by the Āḷupas, who called themselves Pāṇḍyas.

K. V. Ramesh has shown in his work *A History of South Kanara*⁷ that the Āḷupas assumed the title of Pāṇḍyas beginning from the 8th century A.D., when they were conquered by Kōchchaḍayaṇ Raṇadhīra, the powerful Pāṇḍya of Madurai. According to the Velvikkuḍi copper plate, Kōchchaḍayaṇ defeated the Mahārathas at Mangalapura : *Koṅgalarum narumpoḷilvāy kuyiloḍu Mayil ahavum Māṅgalapuram ennum Mahānagaruḷ Mahāratharai eṇindaḷittu aṇikaḍal vaḷāgam podumoḷi aṇarṇi*.⁸

Commenting on the above, Ramesh says, "It thus becomes apparent that the battle should have been fought at Mangalore and that the ruler who opposed the Pāṇḍya was Āḷupa Chitravāhana I."⁹ According to Ramesh, Āḷupa Chitravāhana was the first ruler to claim Pāṇḍya lineage.¹⁰ The Pāṇḍya records claim a decisive victory over the Mahārathas at Mangalore. So the assumption of the title of *Pāṇḍyakula* by the Āḷupas might have been due to their defeat and some matrimonial alliance. Since then the Āḷupas assumed the fish as their emblem. The "Āḷupa Kings adopted titles such as *Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya*, *Pāṇḍya-dhanāñjaya* *Pāṇḍya-Chakravarti* etc. The Āḷupa king Kuṇḍaṇa who ruled between 1220 and 1230 A.D. had the title *Pāṇḍya-dhanāñjaya*".¹¹

Another ruler Sōyidēva who ruled in 14th century also had the same title *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya*.¹²

Ramesh has identified the coins bearing the name *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* as the coins of Āḷupas. "The obverse of these coins depict two fish under an umbrella shaped canopy with a lamp and chowri to their right and left respectively. The reverse contains the legend *Śrī Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* which is one of the characteristic epithets of the medieval and later Āḷupas".¹³ But he has not noticed Elliot, Desikachari, Biddaulp or others who have identified these coins with the issues of Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. The present article is to correct the identification, lest scholars might think that there were two issues of the same type, brought out by the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai and other by the Āḷupas of South Kanara as has been done by Desikachari. The coins referred to as Chōḷa-Chāḷukya, coin, by Elliot and as the issues of Madurai Pāṇḍyas by Desikachari, Biddaulp and Vidyaprakash are in fact issues of the Āḷupas of South Kanara. As mentioned earlier, Desikachari already hinted that these were found in South Kanara and were probably issued by the branch of the Pāṇḍyas. The coins are identical with the coins identified by Ramesh as issues of Āḷupa kings.

Ramesh has also drawn our attention to the term *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* for coins in circulation under the Āḷupas¹⁴ and also to the terms *honna-gadyāṇa* and *paṇa* occurring in Āḷupa inscriptions.¹⁵ Two types of these series are known. The first type consists of circular coins weighing approximately between 56 to 59 grains. These may be identified with the *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa*, of the Āḷupa records. The other type includes small coins, weighing 5 to 6 grains.¹⁶ These may be identified with the *Pāṇḍys* mentioned in Āḷupa records. The coins bearing the name *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* in Kannaḍa characters may be ascribed to Āḷupa Kuṇḍaṇa of 13th century, on paleographical grounds.

Ramesh has demonstrated that as early as 12th century (1149 A. D.) the word *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* occurs in an inscription.¹⁷ It would be interesting to study the palaeography of the Āḷupa coins bearing Nāgarī and Kannaḍa scripts and arrange them chronologically which would throw valuable light on the Āḷupa coinage.

Notes :

1. Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 152.
2. T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins* (Tiruchirāpall-1933), p. 156.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, 1968.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
6. K. V. Ramesh, *A history of South Kanara*, (1970) pp. 56-61.
7. *Pāṇḍya Copper Plates* (1967), p. 25.
8. *A History of South Kanara*, p. 56.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
15. *Coinage of South India*, p. 56.
16. *A History of South Kanara*, p. 276

INSCRIBED POTSHERDS FROM SOUTH INDIAN EXCAVATIONS

S. Gurumurthy

INSCRIBED POTSHERDS HAVE BEEN REPORTED from a number of sites in South India ever since they were discovered at Arikamedu in the year 1941.¹ Initially the letters on the potsherds were considered as mere scratch marks and included among the graffiti marks, because the sherds were too fragmentary and the letters were broken and incomplete. The identification of the script and the language of the inscriptions was also not possible on account of the fragmentary nature of the sherds. However, Wheeler drew the attention of some of the leading epigraphists to the decipherment of the script on the pottery from Arikamedu. It was identified as the script of the Brahmi inscriptions datable to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. wheeler writes: "The exact nature of the language of these inscriptions is still open to question, but they appear to be in Early Tamil, with a sprinkling of Prakrit"² But the subsequent discovery of potsherds with Brahmi inscriptions in a number of sites particularly in Tamil Nadu and the study of their palaeography, have thrown a flood of light on the nature of the script and the language of these inscriptions as also on their dates. Besides Arikamedu, the potsherds with Brahmi inscriptions have been found in the following places: Aḷagarai, Uṟaiyur, Koṟkai, Kāñchīpuram, Karūr and Sālihuṇḍam. The pottery on which the inscriptions are found scratched are the black-and-red ware, all black ware, red slipped ware, unslipped red ware and russet coated and painted ware besides rouletted ware.

The inscriptions are generally scratched on the exterior of the vessels just below rim; but there are instances in which the

letters are written on the shoulders or even on the bottom of the exterior. Sometimes one or two letters are turned upside down. The pottery from Uṛaiyūr suggests that in a few cases, the vessel seems to have been held upside down and the letters were scratched on the portion just below the rim. The inscriptions in most of the cases are post-firing. However, there are a few sherds of red-slipped ware from Uṛaiyūr which exhibit pre-firing inscriptions as the letters are thick, deeply cut and clearly seen.

IMPORTANCE FOR FIXING THE CHRONOLOGY OF CULTURES :

The discovery of the inscribed potsherds is an important landmark in the history of Archaeological field work in South India. They give us some clues as to the date of the cultural deposits in which they are found associated. The script of the Brāhmī inscriptions on the potsherds can be compared with the known script of the Brāhmī inscriptions found in the natural rock-shelters or Jaina caverns scooped out in different parts of South India, particularly in Tamil Nadu as also with the casket inscriptions found at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The cave inscriptions have been classified into different groups and dates have been assigned to them on the basis of the study of their palaeography.³ Therefore, the palaeography of the Brāhmī letters on the potsherds can be compared with that from the cave inscriptions and an approximate date can be arrived at for the former, which in turn may be taken as the date of the potsherds themselves. Hence, the inscribed potsherds may be treated as valuable antiquities in determining the cultural deposits of the Early Historic period. They have helped archaeologists in fixing the lower and upper time limits of cultures in some of the excavations conducted in South India. For instance, the chronology of the Middle phase (c. 1st-2nd century A. D. to 3rd-4th century A. D.) at Śālihūṇḍam,⁴ Period I at Aḷagarai and Uṛaiyūr, period I-A at Kāñchīpuram, the earlier levels at Vāsavasamudram, etc., have been fixed with the help of these inscribed sherds.

INSCRIBED POTTERY FROM SALIHUNDAM :

The site yielded nearly 69 potsherds bearing Brāhmī inscriptions of fragmentary nature. They are dated to a period from

about the 1st to the 4th century A.D. (Middle phase). Most of these inscriptions record pious gifts made to Buddhist monks. The names of the donors are not recorded. References to Government officials, teachers, architects and other servants are found occasionally. The pottery on which the script is written includes the black-and-red ware, all black ware, red slipped ware, coarse grey ware and rouletted ware.

ALAGARAI :

There is only one sherd reported from Alagarai. It is a fragmentary sherd of coarse red slipped ware with three Brāhmī letters only. It is datable to 1st-2nd century A.D.⁵

URAIYUR :

More than a dozen sherds have been obtained from the excavations at Uṛaiyūr. The inscriptions are in Brāhmī characters of 1st-2nd century A. D. and their language is Tamil. They are found on the coarse red slipped ware of period I. Most of them are too fragmentary. However, there is one long inscription found on the shoulder fragment of a globular pot of red slipped ware. It is incomplete and records the death of a person by name Anthanan.⁶ This is the longest Brāhmī inscription found on the pottery from South India.

These potsherds have been found in association with the Roman rouletted ware and the local imitational varieties of the same, besides black-and-red ware of the Iron Age Culture and russet coated and painted ware of the Early Historic period.

KORKAI :

A number of sherds bearing Brāhmī letters were discovered at this site and they were assigned to the 1st century A. D.⁷ The letters are inscribed on the sherds of black-and-red ware and red slipped ware of coarse fabric. They are too fragmentary. Their language is Tamil.⁸

KANCHIPURAM :

Three sherds with Brāhmī letters have been collected from the layers belonging to period I-A.

They may be ascribed to a date of 1st century B. C. to 1st century A. D. The letters are found on the sherds of coarse red slipped ware and grey ware. Their language cannot be made out

as the inscriptions are too fragmentary. But the language of the letters found on the fragment of the grey ware dish (of 2nd century A. D.) seems to be Prakrit.⁹

KARUR :

A few sherds bearing Brāhmī letters of 2nd century B. C. have been recently reported from Karūr.

Notes

1. Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., "An inscribed potsherd from Arikamedu" *J.M. U.*, Vol. XL, No. 1, 1942, pp. 1-5.
2. Wheeler, R.E.M., *A.I.*, No. 2, p. 109.
3. Mahalingam, T. V., *Early South Indian Palaeography* (1967), pp. 199-201.
4. Subrahmanyam, R., *Salihundam, A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh* (1964), pp. 22-23. There are a few sherds which are dated to 2nd-1st century B.C. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-90, Nos. 1, 9, 61 etc. But they are said to have been found in the deposits of Middle Phase, which is dated from 1st century to 4th century A. D.
5. I am thankful to Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras (retired) for having supplied this information.
6. Mahalingam, T. V., "Inscribed potsherds from Alagarai and Uraiyur" *Seminar on Inscriptions*, (Ed.) Nagaswamy, R., Madras, 1966, pp. 42-43.
7. *I.A.R.*, 1960-69, p. 13.
8. The author had examined the sherds in the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras. They await detailed study.
9. Based on the study of the sherds by the author himself. The sherds are now with the Department of Archaeology, University of Madras.

NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVĀDA INSCRIPTION

B. Ramaiah

THE WELL-KNOWN ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION of Kannara was first edited by S. Srikantha Sastri in the *Epigraphia Indica* followed by a note by N. L. Rao.¹ Several scholars who have written on Basavēśvara have made extensive use of this inscription in constructing the biography and chronology of Basavēśvara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it furnishes some details about the birth place, parentage and life of Basavēśvara. The particular interest of this paper lies in the proper decipherment of the *Kanda* verse occurring in lines 35-36 of the said inscription. Owing to a damage in the stone, three letters in line 35 and two letters in line 36 are partly lost towards the right margin. Srikantha Sastri has read the *Kanda* verse as follows :—

Saṅgana Basavana Agra[ja]
[Saṅgām]kaṁ Dēvarāja - munipāna tanayam
Jaṅgama Parusam [Śarana]ra
Saṅgam priyasutan enippa Kali-dēvarasaṁ ||

The readings in the square brackets are restorations as suggested by Sastri in his footnotes.

N.L. Rao on the other hand suggested the following reading.

Saṅgana Basavana agra[ja]
[Li]ṅgaikaṁ Dēvarāja-munipana tanayam
Jaṅgama Parusam [Kā]vara-
saṅgam priyasutan enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ ||

I had occasion to examine the original stone which is now

preserved in the Museum of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar and also the impression preserved in the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. On a close examination I find that the readings suggested by the aforementioned scholars need to be revised. Firstly the two damaged letters in the first *pāda* appear to me to be, in fact *ghriya* and the first letter in the second *pāda* to be *bhri*. So also what has been read as *Kāvarasa* in the 3rd *pāda* by N. L. Rao seems to be *Sōvarasa* as suggested by P. B. Desai. Thus according to me the concerned *Kanda* verse should be read as follows :

Saṅgana Basavana a[mghriya] -
[bhri]mgaikam Dēvarāja - munipana tanayam
Jaṅgama Parusam [Sō]vara-
saṅgam priyasutan enippa Kalidēvarasam ||

'Kalidēvarasa, who was the son of Dēvarāja-munipa, and also considered the beloved son of Sōvarasa, was a bee at the feet of Saṅgana Basava. Kalidēva was also a touch-stone among the *Jaṅgamas*.'

Relying upon the reading *agraja-liṅgaikam* scholars have held that Basava had a deceased elder brother whose name was Dēvarāja-munipa. We shall now show how their readings and conclusions drawn from their texts go against the literary evidences.

Pālkuriki Sōmanātha and other biographers of Basavēśvara, in their literary works, say that Basava was born to his parents after the latter had performed the *Nandivrata*. Nowhere do they say that Basava had an elder brother. Further, in the *Vachanas* of Basavēśvara as well as in the works of his contemporary disciples, we find no evidence to this effect.

Then the question naturally arises as to who this Dēvarāja-munipa was ? Dēvarāja, Sōvarasa, Kalidēvarasa are mentioned here in connection with enumerating the *āchārya-paramparā* of Hālabasavidēva. So, all the above mentioned persons were *āchāryas*. An inscription^a of Bijjala from Dharwar district, dated in Śaka 1080, mentions one Dēvarāśi-panḍita, a priest of the Nāgēśvara temple. We are tempted to identify the Dēvarāja-munipa mentioned in the Arjunavāḍa inscription with Devarāśi-

paṇḍita though there is a slight variation in the names. Dēvarāṣi-paṇḍita was not only a priest but also an *āchārya* of the *kālāmukha* cult as evidenced by the Sirahalli inscription³ dated October 6, 1161 A.D.

In the *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, Dēvarasa is mentioned as one of the 13 *Prabhāta Gaṇas* of Basavēśvara. If we are to extend our line of argument, we can identify all the three as one and the same individual.

The Kaḍlevāḍ inscription⁴ of Sōmēśvara IV dated 1187 A.D. mentions Sōvarāṣi-paṇḍita who was an *āchārya* of the Svayaṁbhū Sōmanātha temple. We are inclined to identify Sōvarasa of the Arjunavāḍa inscription with Sōvarāṣi-paṇḍita of the Kaḍlevāḍ inscription.

In the light of our readings and identifications suggested above we have to examine afresh the chronology of Basava. According to historians like P. B. Desai Basava was born in 1105 A. D. and left his mortal coil by December 1167 A. D. We have seen in the Arjunavāḍa inscription that Dēvarāja-munipa and Sōvarasa flourished almost at the same time as Basava. Further we know that Kalidēvarasa, the son of Dēvarāja-munipa was a disciple of Basavēśvara. This leads us to believe that Dēvarāja-munipa and Sōvarasa were the senior contemporaries of Basava. We know that both of them lived in 1161 A. D. and 1186 A.D. respectively as known from the Dharwar and Kaḍlevāḍ inscriptions. When we are told that Kalidēvarasa was a disciple of Basava, the assumption that Basavēśvara died in 1167 A. D. cannot hold good. This incidentally fits in with the suggested date of birth of Basavēśvara, viz., January 21, 1140 A. D. worked out independently by me from literary sources.⁵ We know further from the present inscription that Kalidēvarasa's son Hālabasavidēva flourished in 1260 A. D. There is a gap of 93 years between 1167 and 1260 A. D. and only two generations existed during this period. We are forced to assume that in 1167 A. D. Kalidēvarasa could only be a boy or a youth. Hence we have to surmise that Basava should have lived beyond 1167 A.D.

From the *Vachanas* of Basava, Chennabasava and the *Kālaṅṇāna* we have reason to believe that Basavēśvara was living till the end of the 12th century. In this connection, we

Nān = omme bēmṭeya hōḍaḍe bhasitakk-
 āhutiyan ikkihen = endu
 sāsirad-ēlu-nūṟu varusha obba rājana kondenu
 avana hemḍati aivatt-erāḍu kaṇṇ-uḷḷaḷu
 aḷu tanna hū-muḍiya biṭṭu attāḷu
 aḷa bāyalli aja bidda kaṁgaḷalli dhūmakētu bidda
 Kūdala Saṁgama-dēvara dēvatva kettittu ||

Notes :

1. Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff.
2. No. 174 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, AK, 110.
4. *SI.*, Vol. XX, No. 137.
5. *Prabuddha Karnataka*, Vol. 55, Part II, Year 1973.
6. No. 14 of *Telengana Inscriptions* Vol. 2

A NOTE ON THE TERM 'UḍIYUCHCHI' OF THE KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS

C. T. M. Kotraiah

STUDENTS OF KANNADA EPIGRAPHY are familiar with the term *uḍiyuchchi* met with in the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the medieval period. It occurs quite frequently in the inscriptions engraved on the memorial stones or slabs like *māsti-kal* and *vīra-kal*. The interpretation and translation of this term as offered by the scholar-editor of *Epigraphia Carnatica* appear to be not so very satisfactory or convincing. Hence the same has been re-examined in the following paragraphs.

This term *uḍiyuchchi* is used as part of the phrase such as *peṇḍir-uḍiyuchchi*, etc. Variations of some of them are as follows :

- a) *peṇḍirūḍiyanuchchi* ¹
- b) *peṇḍirūḍeyanurchchidaremba* ²
- c) *heṇḍirureyuchi* ³
- d) *veṇḍirudeyanuchchu* ⁴
- e) *peṇḍira-uḍi-uchchi-konḍu* ⁵
- f) *peṇḍarudeḷvaya* ⁶
- g) *peṇḍirūḍeyanuḷchi* ⁷
- h) *peṇḍirūḍeyuḷchal* ⁸
- i) *peṇḍiranuḍeyuḷchalu* ⁹
- j) *peṇḍirūḍe urchchuvāgaḷuṁ* ¹⁰

Thus the term has many variations. All these variations appear to be mostly due to colloquialism of the locality and at times, errors of the engraver of the inscription. However, all these various phrases meant to convey the same meaning and the context in which these phrases have been used is also more or less the same.

All these phrases literally mean 'remove, loosen or untie the dress, at the waist, of the wives'. And the translations given in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes are as follows :

- a) unloosened the waists of the women ¹¹
- b) dishonoured (lit. unloosened the waists of) the women ¹²
- c) dishonoured (lit. unloosened the waists of) the women ¹³
- d) (translation not given) ¹⁴
- e) unloosened the waists of women ¹⁵
- f) carried off the good looking women ¹⁶
- g) unloosened the waists of the women ¹⁷
- h) stripped off the clothes of its women ¹⁸
- i) on the waists of the women being unloosened ¹⁹
- j) loosing the waists of the women ²⁰

Thus the term is interpreted to mean dishonouring the wives by the enemies. The same interpretation, based on that of *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes, has been adopted by the compilers of the *Kannaḍa Nighaṇṭu* published by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore. The same *Nighaṇṭu* gives meanings to the term *Uḍeyuḷchu* as follows : ²¹ *Uḍeyuḷchu* (kri) : *Uṭṭiruvuḍannuseḷe* ; *uṭṭiruva baṭṭeyannu sulī* (Thereafter a passage from the *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mulbagal 161-6 has been quoted in support of the meaning given).

Of course the *Nighaṇṭu* is giving just the literal meaning. And by giving a passage from one of the inscriptions published, it shows to agree with the interpretation published there.

As already indicated in the beginning itself, the interpretation of this term has not been done so convincingly for the reasons presently seen.

In the villages of the Bellary district of Karnataka this term *Uḍiyuchchi* or *Uḍiyurchhu* is still in use, more among the old and the illiterate people. This term is used as abusive one whenever one is in bad temper. Strictly speaking this abusive expression is used against ladies only, that too against *sumaṅgalis* and not against unmarried or widowed ladies. The term is part of an abusive usage like *ninna-uḍiyuchhali*. When some of these villagers were questioned by the present writer about the meaning of it, all of them replied without a second opinion, that the phrase

meant to say that the scolded lady should come to discard her *uḍi* i.e., become a widow.

In the eyes of these villagers, *uḍi* is a symbol of *sumaṅgali*-hood—the opposite of widow-hood. For them *uḍi* is a pouch formed by a part of the ‘*sari*’ worn by the ladies, near the womb, the spot of procreation or fertility. Here the meanings given in the above referred *Nighaṇṭu* against the word *maḍilu* may be taken note of. These two terms *maḍilu* and *uḍi* are identical and convey the same idea.²²

Here it is also worth considering that, as an opposite of the term *uḍiyuchchu*, there is a term known as *uḍi-tumbu* i.e., fill the *uḍi* (pouch) with auspicious things. As already seen above, *uḍi* is identified with the womb, the place of fertility. And the place of fertility is always honoured very much in the Hindu society, as borne out in sculptures of Mother-goddess or fertility-goddess (*Santāna-Lakshmi*). It is honoured with auspicious things, when it is fit to do its duty i.e., bear children (and this is possible or permissible only when the husband of the lady is alive). The above *Kannāḍa Nighaṇṭu*²³ may be referred to again where it is quoted that the *uḍi* (pouch of the *sari*) of a *sumaṅgali* was filled with auspicious things like rice, coconut, plantain fruits, cloth-piece for bodice (*ravikeya-kaṇa*), sweet eatables (*tambiṭṭu*, *chi-gali*) and others. In this connection, it must also be noted, according to the custom prevailing among many sections of the Hindu society of Karnataka, that *uḍi-tumbu* i.e., filling up the *uḍi* with such auspicious articles is done, for the first time in the life of a Hindu lady, when she attains puberty. This is indicative of the idea that the womb of the matured girl has become ready or fertile for discharging its function. The same *uḍi-tumbu* function is necessarily repeated when she is interviewed by the prospective bride-groom, at the time of betrothal, marriage, nuptials and conception, after delivery and so on. All these acts or functions, though held at various times, uphold or lay stress on the same aspect.

At this point another term which is in use is also to be taken note of. Once the *uḍi* (pouch) is filled with auspicious things, they cannot be carried on the body by the lady always. After the function is over they are to be taken away and kept aside. For taking them away the term used is never *bichchu* or *uchchu* but

saḍaliṣu which literally means slightly loosen whereas in practice it means to remove them and keep aside. Thus a distinction is made between temporarily removing and removing it for ever, in the terms seen above.

This *uḍi-tumbu* is done during all customary functions till her death or the attainment of widow-hood whichever is earlier. If the latter is earlier, her *uḍi* is filled with auspicious articles only to be removed shortly afterwards from the pouch finally and for the last time. This is done just before the funeral of the deceased husband. And from that day onwards she is never to have the *uḍi-tumbu*. That is, the moment a lady becomes a widow, she is unfit or disqualified for this *uḍi-tumbu* as she can no longer bear children, or, to be more correct, no longer permitted to bear children by the social custom or *dharma*. In other words, she has become infertile. This is so when the wife of the deceased does not commit *sati*. When she commits *sati*, as is well-known to all, she enters the funeral fire with *uḍi* full of auspicious things,

It must also be noted that this usage *uḍiyuchchu* is always with reference to *peṇḍiru* only. The terms *peṇḍiru*, *heṇḍaru* mean wives, that is, married ladies. Further, none of the inscriptions of the type use any other term like *huḍigeyaru* (unmarried girls) or *heṅgasaru* (a general term for ladies) thereby indicating any person of the female sex. It is invariably and specifically associated with the word *peṇḍiru* as already seen in some of the examples quoted above. Further an enemy bent upon committing a sinful act during a raid into his opponent's territory would not make, wait or have time to make a distinction between the unmarried, married and the widowed ladies. Besides, in the parts of Karnataka referred to above, the terms *peṇḍiru*, *heṇḍaru*, *heṇḍiru*, *heṇḍatiyaru* all mean married ladies only and they never apply to the unmarried ones. In these parts, the general terms for ladies are *heṅgasaru*, *heṇṇumakkaḷu* etc. Thus, from this point also, the usage is seen to be applicable only to *sumaṅgalis* and not to any lady of the society in general. Hence this phrase *uḍiyuchchi* is applicable only to *sumaṅgalis* becoming widows on account of the death of their husbands.

Another interesting usage where this term *uḍi* has been used, is also worth considering in the present context. It runs as

muttaideyaru maraḷinā uḍiya tumbi-koṇḍaru. ²⁴ Here two points are quite clear. Firstly, that *uḍi-tumbu* is clearly associated with the *sumaṅgalis*, also known as *muttaideyaru*. Secondly, as the passage reads, the *sumaṅgalis* filled their *uḍi* with sand (*marāḷu*) instead of auspicious things, as already seen above. *Maraḷina-uḍi* (pouch with sand) suggests that the lady died, and got buried in a sandy place before the death of her husband, while being a *sumaṅgali*. Here a custom prevailing in Karnataka is to be taken note of. In those days, habitations were mostly on the banks of rivers and streams and burying the dead, by certain communities in the sand-beds of the rivers and streams, was common and it continues to be in practice even now. Hence the expression quoted above means that the ladies who died before the death of their husbands (i. e., *muttaideyaru*) were buried in a sandy place. ²⁵ Thus from this point also, we see that the term *uḍi* is suggestive of *sumaṅgali*-hood only and not merely the garment ('sari').

It is quite likely that this term and its connotation which has been elaborately explained above must be in use in other parts of Karnataka too. It is definitely prevailing still in the areas of western coast of Karnataka, as testified by the compilers of the *Kannāḍa Nighaṇṭu*. This *Nighaṇṭu*, while giving the meanings for the terms like *uḍilu*, *uḍalu* etc., quotes a custom of the people of the western coast which clearly shows that *uḍi* is associated with *sumaṅgalis* only and not with other ladies. ²⁶

Further, the *Kannāḍa Nighaṇṭu* itself while giving the meanings for the terms like *uḍi-gusu*, *uḍi-tumbisu*, *uḍiy-akki*, *uḍilu* etc., makes it clear that *uḍi* or *uḍilu* as a noun, meant *maḍilu*. ²⁷ But while giving the meaning for the term *uḍiyuḷchi*, *uḍi* is taken to mean only the garment or cloth on the lower part of a lady i. e., 'sari.' ²⁸

Now we shall examine and analyse the texts of some of the inscriptions which contain this term and see the context in which it has been used.

(a) Firstly, the Tavarekeri inscription ²⁹ can be examined. This is dated to be of c. 950 A. D. The relevant text runs as follows :

*Māgarayyāṁ Paṇṇi Peṇḍiran = uḍeuḷchalu meḷtina tuṟugaḷoḷi
maḷmi sattan.*

It can be translated as follows :- One Māgarayya arranged for the (his) wives to accept widowhood (as he was not sure of returning alive) and (he) entered the herd of cattle (that were being lifted by the enemies) and (in the fight that might have ensued) thereafter he was unseen and (considered as) dead. Considering the previous interpretation, if Māgarayya had dishonoured the wives of others, where was the necessity for him to enter the herd of cattle only to lose his life? On the other hand it was for saving the cattle of his village from being lifted by the enemies, he had to convince his wives of the noble cause he was to take up (and make arrangements i.e., *paññi*) and he had to fight and die in the fight that might have ensued. Students of history are well aware of similar customs where the husbands prepare the wives to face the forthcoming disasters, before going to fight the enemies etc. In this context the present translation and interpretation sound reasonable.

(b) Another inscription,³⁰ from Berumbadi, engraved in characters of about the 10th century, reads as follows :

*Chāvuṇḍa-Permmāṇḍi ... bayalnāḍa bandu Ālatūraniṇḍidu
peṇḍiruḍeyuḷchal Aḷageyara Lakkaṇayya kādi sattam.*

Here the present interpretation of the term is most clearly borne out. That is, this memorial is in honour of one Aḷageyara Lakkaṇayya who fought against Chāvuṇḍa Permāṇḍi when the latter invaded a village called Ālatūr and when he *peṇḍiruḍeyuḷchal* (stripped off the clothes of its (of Ālatūr according to old translation) women. Here Aḷageyara Lakkaṇayya was defending his village Ālatūr which had been invaded. If the wives of his village, some of whom might have been his own relatives or of his friends', had been dishonoured by Chāvuṇḍa Permāṇḍi, it was not a thing of pride to record it on a stone and display it in a public place. Hence if it is taken to mean that Chāvuṇḍa-Permāṇḍi, during the invasion, killed many men, thereby making the wives of them widows (*uḍi yuḷchi davaru* - those who had discarded off the *uḍi*) it would not only sound reasonable, but also make the setting up of this particular memorial for Aḷageyara Lakkaṇayya a logical and a sensible one. And this recording, on the other hand upholds the chivalrous and valourous qualities of all those who had lost their lives including Lakkaṇayya. And it was not meant to display the ignominious act of Chāvuṇḍa

Permānaḍi ; even Chāvuṇḍa Permānaḍi would himself not have agreed to boast of such an act or record it for keeping it in a public place. That being the case, the present interpretation appears to be reasonable.

(c) Now we can examine another interesting inscription³¹ of Shikaripur taluk of Shimoga district which is datable to 1170 A.D. The text of it is as follows :— Kēsīmāyānu Sām̐ttaḷige-nāḍa baḷiya bāḍada Aḷahūṛan = ūṛudu peṇḍira uḍi uchchikoṇḍu hōhalli ... Kāḷeya-nāyaka taḷa kudureyaṁ niṛudu palaraṁ konu tuṇuvaṁ maguḷchi suralōka prāptanāda. Here the difference between the phrases *uchchi-hōhalli* and *uchchi-koṇḍu-hōhalli* should be carefully noted. The latter phrase fits well with our present interpretation. Now it can be translated as that one Kēsīmāyā attacked or raided the village called Aḷahūra and carried away the *sumaṅgali*-hood of many wives (*peṇḍiruḍi-uchchikoṇḍu-hōhalli*) by killing their husbands in the fight that might have taken place, and at that instance, Kāḷeyanāyaka, son of Sōvi-seṭṭi, fought, killed the horse, killed many, recovered the cows and himself died in the course of the fight. This explains the term *uḍi-uchchi-koṇḍu-hōhalli* properly and reasonably. If we are to be guided by the old interpretation, and translate it as, the enemy loosening and carrying the dress away (of the wives), it is not convincing at all, whereas the present interpretation is quite convincing and reasonable.

(d) Another inscription³² dated 1092 A. D. and from a village of Shikaripur taluk of Shimoga district. reads as follows :— Kiṛiya-Māguṇḍiya malaparū mutti tuṇuvam koṇḍu peṇḍir = uḍiyanuchchi pōpalli Kāchi-seṭṭiya magaṁ Tailama tuṇuvaṁ magurchuḷci suragiṇḍu sura-lōka prāptan = āda. Here also, as already seen above, we should take it to record that when a village called Kiṛiya-Māguṇḍi was, attached by the hilly people (*malaparū*), the cattle was lifted and the next act recorded in the expression as *peṇḍiruḍeyanuchchi-pōpalli* indicates that they turned the wives of the place into widows. When they were returning after the above acts, they were opposed by one Tailama, son of Kāchi-seṭṭi, who rescued the cows, killed the enemies and in the end died. Here, in the narration of the events, the sequence mentioned requires careful consideration. That is, the raiders, after laying siege

to the village, were taking away the cattle. On seeing that, the villagers might have naturally resisted and in the course of the fight many might have lost their lives. Hence the second event *peṇḍiruḍeyanuchchi* followed the first which is natural and logical. And the present interpretation explains this succession of events convincingly. In the course of it or as a third sequence of the present record, Tailama also lost his life and this is a memorial to commemorate the sacrifice made by him and not to narrate the unpleasant event in the history of the ladies of his village. Thus even in this example also, the present interpretation of the term seems quite reasonable.

Similarly, other inscriptions where this term is seen can be analysed and explained to show that the present interpretation is more reasonable and logical. Of course, it does not mean that only this term had been used whenever death of some persons had to be indicated. On the other hand this term is not frequently used. In order to avoid repetition of the same analysis and explanation, more inscriptions are not examined here.

As we all know these memorials were set up by the relatives, friends, kings or other masters of the deceased, after the death of the person commemorated in a particular memorial stone. Here it must be noted that the setting up a memorial was an act of praising or honouring the good chivalrous qualities or valour of the deceased. In a society whose *dharma* declares dishonouring the wives of other persons as an act of great sin, it is unthinkable and even unimaginable to find that any person would record such an act of dishonour caused on the wives of the villagers of the deceased by the enemies and on account of which the deceased person fought and lost his own life. These definitely included the wives of his friends and relatives if not his own, which is not an act to be boasted or recorded. Here it must also be remembered that since *dharma* of the land has never approved such an action it is difficult to believe that any one would boast of it and or record it. Further, the same society forbids even to talk of the sins of others, particularly of the ladies, however bad they might be. That being the case, it is very difficult to think that either enemy or friend would boast of such immoral and sinful

acts. Recording them on stones, which were meant to be kept in public places is farther away from any possibility. That is, such recordings in our society are highly impossible.

In the light of the above discussion, the expression *uḍi-ucchi* should be taken to mean that the concerned ladies lost their *sumaṅgali*-hood and became widows and resultantly unfit for *uḍi-tumbu* function any longer. After that, they might have performed *satī* or not which fact can be verified by studying the sculptural representations on the slabs bearing the inscriptions containing the above terms and phrases. The subsequent or earlier fight might have resulted in the death of the persons and this might have led to the erection of the memorial.

Now it is for the philologists to consider the above interpretation and give a rethinking on the subject in order to arrive at an acceptable interpretation. In this way the ignominious act ascribed to the Karnataka society of the mediaeval times is wiped off and a correct one, a chivalrous and an honourable one as recorded in these memorials is attributed to and upheld with due justice,

Notes :

1. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, pt. I (1902) Sk. No. 205, pp. 294 ff. (texts).
2. *Ibid.* Sk. No. 83, pp. 170 ff. (texts).
3. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 75, pp. 167 ff. (texts).
4. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 58, pp. 169 ff. (texts).
5. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 181, pp. 272 ff. (texts).
6. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 195, pp. 283 ff. (texts).
7. *Ibid.*, Hl. No. 5, pp. 354 ff. (texts).
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. III (1974), Gu. No. 219, pp. 158 ff.
9. *Ibid.* Vol. X (1905), Mb. No. 161, pp. 137 ff. (transliteration).
10. *Ibid.*, VIII, pt. II (1904), Sb. No. 141, pp. 61 ff. (texts).
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pt. I (1602), Sk. No. 205, pp. 128 ff. (translations).
12. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 83, pp. 58 ff. (translations).
13. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 75, pp. 56 ff. (translations).
14. (Translation not given).
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pt. I (1902), Sk. No. 171, pp. 166 ff. (translations).

16. *Ibid.*, Sk. No. 195, pp. 122 ff. (translations). Here Kittel's Kannaḍ-English Nighaṇṭu (1968), Vol. I, pp. 298-299 may also be referred.
17. *Ibid.*, No. Hl. 4, pp. 157 ff. (translations).
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. III (1974), Gu. No. 219, pp. 642 ff.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. X (1905), Mb. 162, pp. 114 ff. (translations).
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pt. II (1904), Sb. 147, pp. 21 ff. (translations).
21. *Kannaḍa Nighaṇṭu*, Vol. I (Bangalore-1970), pp. 880 ff.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 873 ff. terms like *uḍi-gusu*, *uḍi-tumbisu*, *uḍi-tumbu* may be referred.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 874 ff.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 874 ff. a passage quoted from '*Suvarṇa Sampuṭa*' by H. Deverappa ; while giving meanings for the term *uḍiyakki(na)*.
25. Similar to this expression there is another abusive phrase '*bāyoḷage maṇṇu-hāka*' which literally means put soil into the mouth but the actual idea is one (scolded) should die.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 874 ff. while giving meanings to words like *uḍilu*, *uḍalu*.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 837 ff.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 880 ff.
29. *Ep. carn.*, Vol. X (1905), No. 161 of Mulbagal taluk, pp. 114 (translation). And also quoted in the *Kannaḍa Nighaṇṭu* (Bangalore) Vol. I, pp. 987 ff.
30. *Ep. carn.*, Vol. III (1974), Gu. No. 219, pp. 158 ff. (texts). Translation for the same on p. 642.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1902), Sk. No. 181, pp. 272 ff. (texts) and pp. 166 ff. (translation).
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1902), Sk. No. 505, pp. 293 ff. (texts) and pp. 128 ff. (translations).

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE HARIHAR INSCRIPTION OF DĒVARĀYA I, 1410 A.D.

G. R. Kuppuswamy

OF THE SEVERAL STONE INSCRIPTIONS which throw welcome light on the irrigation activities of the Vijayanagara rulers, the Harihar inscription¹ of Dēvarāya I, engraved on a stone in the Hariharēśvara temple deserves more than a passing notice. It is dated Śaka 1332, Vikṛiti, Bhādrapada śu. 12, Monday corresponding to 11th August, 1419 A. D. It is one of the very few inscriptions which outlines the procedure followed in the execution of an irrigation project, conclusion or forging of agreement governing terms and conditions, water distribution, financing and maintenance of the work. Unfortunately the inscription is silent on the question of the technique of construction, which seems to have been slightly defective in this case. The Pōrumāmiḷla Tank inscription² dated 1379 A. D. is much more useful in this respect.

The main purpose of the study is to analyse the Harihar inscription in detail and to bring out its economic significance with reference to the following points: (1) Agreement and its critical aspects; (2) Location of the Dam and Channel; (3) Economic status of the Brahmin families referred to in the inscription.

The inscription narrates details of a settled agreement (*vyavahāra-nirṇaya*) which seems to have been made on the initiative of the king himself, the parties to the transaction being evidently priests on behalf of god Harihara and the brahmins (i. e., *Mahājanas*) living in the Harihara-*kshētra*. The agreement covered not merely the immediate object of constructing a dam across the river Haridrā and leading a channel

through the god's land to Harihara but also of its maintenance for posterity.

According to the agreement³ the *Mahājanas* or brahmins were required to construct the dam at their own expense within the boundary of god's land and secondly lead a channel through god's land to Harihara. Though the liability of temple authorities is not found explicitly mentioned, it is clear from subsequent statement that they had to incur 2/3rd of the expenses, while the brahmins shared the remaining 1/3rd amongst themselves.

The second part of the agreement relates to the sharing of the fruits of labour or investment. The inscription states that of all the lands irrigated by the channel so far as it may go, two parts shall be for god Harihara and one part for the *Mahājanas*, shared in proportion to the cost incurred by them.⁴ In order that the agreement may be followed faithfully, a copper *śāsana* was also made. There are also certain precautionary measures undertaken to avoid unnecessary complications arising out of the agreement which constitutes a sort of corollary to it. The record mentions in detail the names, *sūtras* and *gōtras* of the *Mahājanas* who are entitled to shares under the agreement. The agreement also lays down the procedure to be followed for sharing of irrigated land. After 2/3rds of irrigated land are assigned to god Harihara, the remaining 1/3rd is to be shared between the various brahmin families in the proportion mentioned in the inscription. The total number of shares comes to 108 and the number of families is 128.⁵ In addition, 1 share for offering to god Harihara, and 2 shares for feeding 5 brahmins were allotted. In all, the total number of shares were 111.

It is also stated subsequently that annual repairs and other expenses arising out of the acts of god or government should be borne in the same proportion of 2/3rd by god and 1/3rd by *Mahājanas*. The same proportion would hold good for distribution of water in the channel or the expenses of the wells and tanks newly formed under the channel, or expenses connected with the river.⁶

The above agreement, unlike some of the earlier ones which were voluntarily entered into, for instance between the

brahmins of Udbhavanarasimhapura⁷ or the one in the nature of settlement of dispute between the authorities of temple-lands and those of brahmins,⁸ bore the royal seal and approval. It was at the king's instance that it was entered into. It was perhaps with the belief that it would have greater force and sanctity and retain a great degree of permanence. It is purely business-like and human. It is also in the nature of a contract and it is in proportion to the financial commitment made by each of the parties. The temple authorities are entitled to claim $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the benefits at every stage, say $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the irrigated land evidently for investing $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the amount, though not so stated explicitly. The same liability is continued for annual maintenance or repairs to the dam, channel and other expenses. The causes may be floods and overflow of the channel, or due to acts of government enhancement of taxes, destruction caused by troops. On the other hand, the *Mahājanas* are entitled to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd share which again is based on the investment, which speaks of the investment-potential of the brahmins settled there.

The agreement indicates how the government transferred or decentralised its functions and corresponding privileges and responsibilities. Both the temple authorities and brahmins were made jointly responsible for the maintenance of public works. It was a sort of a co-operative effort of semi-official (i.e. *mahājana*) and non-official (temple or public) agency. Naturally as a public institution, the temple was liable for a greater responsibility and entitled to a greater share of the fruits.

Though the agreement is fool-proof and scientific in so far as there is no scope for fraud or dispute as every detail relating to shares is mentioned, it is doubtful whether it was practical. One can understand the sharing of water but how can land (irrigated) be shared in the manner suggested, unless all the irrigated land is pooled together and proportion determined by sharing of the produce irrespective of whether the land formerly belonged to the brahmins or temple authorities. Otherwise it would give rise to legal complications or anomalous position. For instance, a piece

of land which before irrigation belonged to brahmins may after irrigation, become temple-land, on the principle of 2/3: 1/3. This may ultimately cause encroachment of land of the brahmins and its ultimate disappearance. The agreement becomes more meaningful if the produce raised on the land is shared in the proportion stipulated. For, in those days of common ownership, produce could be shared between parties more easily.

The agreement is self-contained in so far as it makes provision for the maintenance of the dam and channel and extension of irrigated area by giving scope for digging of wells and tanks for the development of agriculture. The authenticity of the entire transaction was ensured by the issue of copper-*śāsana* to the parties concerned. The agreement has not left anything to chance by defining clearly the villages over which the channel was to be taken. Finally the agreement is repeated in Kannada. It redounds to the credit of the rulers that the agreement was not strictly enforced when the dam broke and gave way in 1424 A.D., a couple of years after its construction. The dam was reconstructed without the brahmins having to pay anything—one reason was that they were unable to pay anything; the second was that the dam gave way so soon before the brahmins were able to reap any reward.

The inscription records the procedure followed in getting the work executed. According to the wording of the inscription, Jagannātha, son of Maṅgarāja, made application to Dēvarāya and obtained permission from the king through his minister Nāgappa and the work was entrusted to Buḷappa, son of Jagannātha. Buḷappa is said to have carried out the work to the entire satisfaction of the brahmins. It may be noted that Nāgappa, Jagannātha and Buḷappa were mentioned as *amātya-śēkhara*, *mantri* and *amātya* respectively.

The different functionaries who assisted in the consecration ceremony and the making of the *śāsana* (i. e., composer) were duly rewarded, both the temple authorities and brahmins sharing the liability. Thus Bharatārādhyā, son of Krishnallāchārya, received ten *maṇuvina koḷaga* of rice-land, 5 from god and 5 from brahmins. The composer of the *śāsana* was

granted 8 *maṇuvina koḷaga* of rice-land; 4 from god and 4 from brahmins. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa who performed the *aṅga-pra-dakṣhiṇa* received 4 *maṇuvina koḷaga*, 2 from god and 2 from brahmins.

The inscription states that the dam was to be constructed and channel taken in Bannikōḍu-sime under god's jurisdiction. The villages covered by the channel and named in the inscription in a particular order, included Bannikōḍu, Beluvaḍi, Hanagavāḍi, Harihara, Guttūr and Gaṅganarasiyakere, where it was to terminate. The dam was to be built across the river Haridrā in Bannikōḍu-sime. A study of the map of Harihar taluk and adjacent taluks reveals the following points of interest: (1) The Haridrā, a tributary of Tuṅga-bhadrā, appears to have been dammed at a point somewhere near Bannikōḍu, though no traces of the dam are said to be found today. The reasons leading to the breach of the dam within a couple of years of its construction, are not known. The dam was rebuilt in 1424 A.D. according to a second inscription from the same place,¹⁰ though it also states that Buḷappa had earlier built the dam strong. The inscription merely reveals the fact that dam breached and that as a consequence the brahmins were in great distress at the loss of their several means of livelihood.¹¹ The finances were stated to have been provided by Chāma-nṛipa, the Commander-in-chief.

(2) The channel must have taken off from Bannikōḍu and after covering the villages of Belūvaḍi, Hanagavāḍi, Harihara and Guttūr, terminated at Gaṅganarasi. The places are situated in the same order as found in the inscription. It is also likely that some of the other places as Māchēnahaḷli, Harlāpura and Bairanahaḷli were also covered. Even as in the case of the Dam there are no traces of the channel said to be found today. The channel must have dried up due to breach of the dam and caused considerable hardship to land-holders who held land all along the channel. The second inscription, however, makes it clear that the water flowing through the channel drawn from the Haridrā river in that period have increased productivity to a considerable extent. The coverage of the channel was extended a second time bringing under it addi-

tional areas of unirrigated land resulting in increase of revenue.¹²

A rough calculation on the basis of road map would indicate that the channel ran for a distance of about 8 miles. As there are a number of tributaries to the Haridrā itself, the direction of the flow of these tributaries may give a clue to the course of the channel. The channel seems to have emptied at the other end in a tank, for there is a reference to Gaṅganarasīyakere in the first inscription.

A close study of the various brahmin families and the share or *ṽṛitti* allotted to each one of them, reveals certain interesting facts. As the share due to each family was determined in proportion to the investment made in the construction of the dam and taking out of the channel, it can be considered as an indication of the economic status of the family in the village-complex. This method of assessing the status of a family is quite in fitness of things because expenditure method has been recognised as one of the scientific methods for computing the national income of a country or for the levy of taxes. It can be generally concluded that the 128 families (list is incomplete) mentioned in the inscription did not enjoy the same economic status for the shares allotted to them ranged from 1/4 to 3 shares. The tabular analysis appended to this paper indicates the distribution of the families (classified *sūtra* and *Gōtra* wise) according to the shares of benefits apportioned to them.

It can be seen from the list that the largest number of families fall under the group receiving 1/2 *ṽṛittis* and the next best, 1 *ṽṛitti*. At the two extremes, those who could invest the minimum and get 1/4 *ṽṛitti* were fairly larger while only one family was entitled to 3 *ṽṛittis* and about 13 families to 2 *ṽṛittis*. Percentage-wise, the following are the results:

Group	Share	Number		Percentage
A	1/4	24	—	18.75
B	1/2	46	—	35.94
C	1	44	—	34.38

D	2	13	—	10.95
E	3	1	—	.78
		128		100.80

The majority of the families seem to fall under B and C groups, below the average investing capacity. Either the expenditure on consumption goods was fairly high or their saving potential was less due to low income. While the passages contained in the literary works of the period quoted by Saleore¹³ give an idea of their food and dress habits (fairly high), the absence of the data of the income distribution for the present, makes it difficult to fix the poverty-line.

A demographic analysis would indicate that the brahmins who belonged to the *Āśvalāyana-sūtra* constituted the majority followed by those of the *Āpastamba-sūtra*. The other *sūtras* were nominally represented.

Sl. No.	Sūtra	Total number	Percentage
1.	Yājñavalkya	3	2.35
2.	Bōdhāyana	2	1.60
3.	Jaiminī	2	1.60
4.	Āśvalāyana	68	53.13
5.	Āpastamba	53	41.41
			100.09

There are two families only in which the claimant is daughter's son (*dauhitra*) and in all other cases the property descended through the male line. There seems to be an unequal distribution of *gōtras*, the families belonging to *Kāśyapa-gōtra* claiming the largest number (24) followed by those of *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* (19).

Notes :

1. *Ep. Cārṇ.*, Vol. XI, No. Dg. 23.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, no. 4.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, No. Dg. 23, text lines 17-18.
4. *Ibid.*, text lines 18-20.
5. The list seems to be incomplete. The total number of shares actually comes to 102-3.

6. *Ibid.*, text lines 66-69.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV (ii), Ng. 49 and 50.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. V (ii), Ak. 49.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 23, text lines 64-65.
10. *Ibid.*, No. Dg. 29.
11. See also, Saletore, *Social and Political life in Vijayanagara*, Vol. I, p. 378. Saletore's opinions need to be re-examined in the light of the following:
 - (a) There is no clear evidence of official pressure being brought on Chāma-nṛipa.
 - (b) There is no clear reference to the reconstruction of the channel in the text of the inscription.
 - (c) The name of the minister who rebuilt the dam is Buḷḷappa or Buḷḷarasa and not Bukkarasa.
12. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 29, lines 29. ff.
13. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 313 ff.

NOTES ON BŪḌIDAGAḌḌAPALLE,
KOTTŪRU AND
MUTTUKŪRU INSCRIPTIONS

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy

AN INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRA (II) of the Telugu-chōḷa family, copied from a hero-stone set up to the north-east of the village Būḍidagaḍḍapalle in Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district, is edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and M. Venkata-ramayya in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 244 ff. with plate. The inscription is therein assigned to the latter half of the 8th century and it is taken to record the death of a certain Arivarajama after piercing Dantiyamma-Maṅgu while Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju, the ruler of Pudali and the son of Mahēndran, surnamed Mānaravi and Māḡurāpiḍugu, was looking on with wonder. The authors of the paper sought to identify Dantiyamma-Maṅgu, the opponent of Arivarajama, "with Maṅgi, who seems to have renewed a grant of a Chōḷa-mahādēvi at Chilamakūru" (*SIL.*, Vol. X, No. 603) and whose "surname Dantiyamma (*i. e.* Dantivarmma), would make him either a contemporary of, or more appropriately, a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (*i. e.* 750 A. D.) whose name Dantivarmma he bears".

But a close examination of the photograph of the inscription in question reveals the fact that *Maṅgu* in *Dantiyamma Maṅgu* should be corrected to *pāgu*, thus making the reading as *Dantiyamma-pāgu*. A comparison of the letter *p* in the present reading with the letter *p* occurring in *Māḡurāpiḍugu* (line 1), *Pudali*, *Kāpi*-(line 2), *poḍuchi*, *paḍiyen* (line 3) and with the letter *m* occurring in *Mahēndran*, *Mānaravi*, *Māḡurāpiḍugu* (line 1), *maganṟu*, *Mutturāju* (line 2) and *Dantiyamma* (line 3), and the *ā* sign over *p* and the absence of

anusvāra over the same letter makes it clear that the reading *Maṅgu* should be corrected to *pāgu*.

The meaning of the word *pāgu* (or *vāgu*, the softened form of *pāgu*) is 'army' and it occurs in some other inscriptions also. In the light of this reading the text of the present inscription is to be interpreted as follows:- "While Kāpi-Bōḷa-Mutturāju, son of Mahēndra Mānaravi Māṅu-rāpiḍugu, the ruler of Pudali, was looking on with wonder, he who was called Arivarajama (death to the best of enemies) fought with" the army (*pāgu*) of Dantiyamma and piercing fell.

When this correction is accepted the suggested identification of Dantiyamma with Maṅgi of the Chilamakūru inscription becomes untenable.

A NOTE ON THE KOTTURU INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYADITYA, YEAR 4

An inscription copied from a piece of a stone lying in a field near the Āñjanēya temple at Kottūru, hamlet of Brāhmaṇapalle in Tadpatri taluk, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh is edited by P. B. Desai in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff. with plate. The purport of the inscription, which belongs to the king Vijayāditya of the Bādāmi Chalukya house and is dated in his 4th regnal year (699-700 A. D.), is stated to be "to record a gift of eighty units of cultivable land as *pannāsa* in the village Peṇukapaṇṇuti by Pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru". We are further told that "It was made with the due ceremony after the announcement of the royal order to the effect in the presence of Chappiḷirāja and the residents of the two villages." However, the reading and interpretation in some instances call for a re-examination.

Firstly, the name of the chief, in whose presence the gift was made, is read as *Chappiḷe[nṅu]-rājul* (line 3) and it is suggested that *Chappiḷi* may be the name of the Chief and that it may be compared with the place-name Chirppuḷi which occurs in a Bāṇa inscription coming from Chippili (Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh).² However, the actual reading seems to be *Chaḷkiḷenṅu-rājul* and not *Chappiḷe-nṅu-rājul*.³ Consequently it is not necessary to consider the

name of the chief as Chappiḷi and to compare the same with the place name Chirppuḷi.

Secondly, the name of the donor is referred to as “Pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru”. But the actual name of the donor is Kaṇamayāru and not Bōḷakaṇamayāru, the term *bōḷa* being separate from the proper name. The meaning of the expression ‘Pūllamukki-bōḷa Kaṇamayāru, is ‘Kaṇamayāru, the *bōya* or *bōḷa* of (the village) Pūllamukku’. In inscriptions we have many instances in which the term *bōḷ* occurs in between the village-name and the personal name or immediately after the village-name, the personal name being absent, denoting that the person in question is either a resident or official of the said village.⁴ Obviously the present epigraph affords a similar instance. Regarding the meaning of the proper name ‘Kaṇamayāru, it may be considered as a corrupt form of Sanskrit Gaṇapati, and this may be compared with the the personal name ‘Kaṇavadi’ in the Chandana inscription⁵ of Bādāmi Chalukya Kīrttivarman. Further, referring to Gaṇapati as ‘Gaṇapaya’ is not uncommon even today in the Āndhra country.

Thirdly, the donee Kumāraśarmma is described as *uñcha* (*uñcha.....Kumāra-śa[rmmā]riki* (lines 4-5). Attempting to explain the term *uñcha* the editor of the epigraph presumes that the “expression might be *uñcharu* or *uñchari*, probably denoting a place”⁶ and in support of this, he cites the occurrence of the terms *uñcharu* and *uñchari* in a Bāṇa record (*SII., Vol. IX-I, No. 47*). However, the suggestion that *uñcharu* or *uñchari* is a place-name appears to be quite unlikely. The expression *uñcha* may denote the discipline known as *uñchha-vṛitti* according to which the observer of this discipline is expected to make his living by gathering grains bit by bit.⁷ In this context the expression *uñcha* (Skt. *uñehha*) seems to suggest that the donee observed the discipline *uñchha*. The same interpretation holds good to the term *uñcha* occurring in the Bāṇa inscription referred to above.

Fourthly, in the proper grant portion we get the statement *udakapūrvva[ñkē]si ichchiri* (line 5) which means the gift was given away with libation of water. The editor of the inscription suggests a correction to the word *kēsi* as *chēsi*.⁸ But

the correction is unwarranted. The form *kēsi*, which occurs in some other inscriptions⁹ also, is of considerable interest to the student of linguistics. Proto-Dravidian *k* preceding the palatal consonants usually developed into *ch* in Telugu. It is generally believed that this development in Telugu has taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. However, some prepalatalized forms remained in the language till about the 8th century and the epigraph in question affords such an instance, in the form *kēsi*.

Lastly, we are told by the editor that the grant was made "in the presence of Chappilīrāja and the residents of two villages." But we do not find any statement in the inscription suggesting that the grant was made in the presence of the residents of two villages. Obviously the author has taken the word *inu[vū]ri* to mean the 'residents of two villages.' But the actual reading is *inuvuru* and not *inu[vū]ri*. The *u* sign of the final letter *ru* may be compared with those of the words *Kaṇamayāru* (line 3) and *vachchuvāru* (line 6). Now with this correction the relevant portion of the text reads as follows: *Enṛagoṭṭu Koṇṭūri mu.....Koṇunāḷlu inuvuru sākshigānu ichchinadi* which means that (the gift) was made while Enṛagoṭṭu and Koṇunāḷlu of Koṇṭūru were the witnesses. The village Koṇṭūru, to which Koṇunāḷlu probably belonged, can be identified with Koṇḍūru in Gutti taluk, Anantapur district.

NOTE ON THE MUTTUKURU INSCRIPTION

An inscription¹⁰ of Chōḍa-mahārāja, of the Rēnāti Chōḷa family from Muttukūru, Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh, assignable to about the 8th century, states that while the king was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-7000 one Bhikkiraju granted a land of 120 *maṛutuḍlu* in extent, measured by *rājamāna* to Apimanageravālu and that the *arivāṇambu* of the land was 12 *puṭṭis* of land. The editor of the record in his introduction to the text interpreted the grant portion as 'a gift of one hundred and twenty *maṛutus* of land fetching twelve *puṭṭis* of paddy'. This interpretation is most unconvincing in view of the fact that the produce of land cannot be fixed as it may vary from time to time.

However, the term *arivāṇambu* occurring in this inscription reminds us of the term *aruvāṇa* which occurs in a number of Kannaḍa inscriptions in different forms such as *aruvāṇa*,¹¹ *aruhaṇa*,¹² *ārruvāṇa*¹³ and *aruvāṇa*¹⁴ and also in Telugu inscriptions as *aruvanamu*.¹⁵

The term *aruvāṇa* is stated to denote a tax levied on lands, house-sites and gardens.¹⁶ It may not be improbable that *arivāṇambu* occurring in the inscription referred to above is identical with *aruvāṇa* or *āṇuvāṇa* of Kannaḍa inscriptions. If this identification is accepted, the text of the inscription in question may be interpreted as follows: "While Chōḷa-mahārāju was ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-7000, Bhikkirāju made a gift of land 120 *maṇṭutuḍlu* in extent measured by *rājamāna*, to Apimana-goravalu" and the tax (*arivāṇambu*) on the gift-land was 12 *puṭṭis* of paddy. Incidentally it may also be pointed out that the present inscription affords an early reference to this revenue term.

Notes :

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, text line 10 where it occurs as *Vāgu*. Also cf. *ARSIE.*, 1940-41, No. 412 which refers to a raid on Balavarma-pāgu. In this instance *pāgu* may not be a personal name suffix but may mean 'the army of Balavarma.'

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 71, n. 2.

3. I owe this suggestion to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. VIII, p. 238; XVIII, p. 2; XXXIII, pp. 79-80.

5. *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 17.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 71, n. 4.

7. Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 401.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 71, n. 5.

9. *SII.*, Vol. X, Nos. 47 and 54.

10. *Ibid.*, No. 594.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 175, text line 35; *SII.*, Vol. IX-1, No. 77, text line 27.

12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 131.

13. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 247, text line 103.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 256, text line 18; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 61, text lines 12-13.

15. *SH.*, Vol. X, No. 211, text line 18; No 651, text lines 14-15 and also appendix 2, pp. xlv and lix.

16. *Sādhane* (Bangalore), Vol I, pt. 2 (April-June 1972), pp. 200-05. Dr. S. Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social life in Karnataka* (Mysore 1974), pp. 147-48.

NOTES ON THE KAUVATAL AND VAKRATENTALI CHARTERS

Ajay Mitra Shastri

KAUVATAL PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVARAJA: This three-plate charter was found at a place called Kauvatal in the erstwhile Sarangarh State now incorporated in the Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh. It was discovered and noticed briefly by the late Paṇḍita Lochan Prasad Pandeya¹ and edited by A. N. Lahiri.² It is dated on the tenth day of the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the seventh year of the reign of the Śarabhapuriya king Mahā-Sudēvarāja, who is well known from several other epigraphic records.³ Issued from Śrīpura⁴ (modern Sirpur, Raipur district, Madhya Pradesh), it aims at registering the grant by the king of the village named Sunikā situated in the division (*bhōga*) known as Hakirī in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭa* Purandarasvāmin belonging to the Pārāśara-gōtra and a student of Vājasaneyī *Samhitā* of the *Yajurveda*.

It has been rightly pointed out by the editor that the names of the gift village and of the district (*bhōga*) in which it was situated are engraved on an erasure.⁵ Similar is the case with the latter part of the donee's name and the name of his *gōtra* which are also incised on erasures.⁶ These observations are borne out by a glance at the facsimile plate.⁷ According to Lahiri, this may have been due to the scribe who had at first committed an error but later noticed and corrected it.⁸

It is, however, astonishing that the engraver should have committed errors only in the vital parts of the record referring to the donated village, the territorial division in which it was located and the donee's name and *gōtra*, whereas in other parts the engraving is almost flawless. Had the engraver been

inexperienced he would have committed similar errors and corrected them by resorting to erasing and re-engraving in the remaining portion of the inscription also. We are therefore of the opinion that the erasures and re-engravings cannot be attributed merely to the carelessness on the part of the engraver. They appear to be deliberate. This phenomenon admits of three different interpretations. First, it is not impossible that after ordering the grant to a certain Brāhmaṇa the king changed his mind and the plates, or at least the first plate and the first side of the second plate, which were engraved before the change in the royal decision was made known to the scribe, were utilised for recording another grant by changing only the donee's name and *gōtra* as well as the names of the village and the district wherein it was situated. Alternatively, it may be a case of fraud on the part of the government officers who misused the royal sanction of the grant and gave it away to a person of their own choice by altering vital portions of the grant to suit their nefarious end. Thirdly, it may be due to some person in whose hands the charter somehow fell and who tried to appropriate the gift land for himself by effecting such alterations as were necessary to serve this purpose. The last alternative appears to be the most likely one. For, if the king or government officers were interested in making such vital changes, they would have preferred to use fresh plates. Whatever that be, in our opinion this appears to be a case of ancient forgery. It may be noted in this connection that we are in the know of several other instances of anciently forged copper-plate charters and some early texts also refer to the possibility of counterfeiting charters.

VAKRATĒNTALĪ GRANT OF MAHA-BHAVAGUPTA I : This copper-plate grant, which was found in the erstwhile Sonpur State, now in the Sambalpur district of Orissa, was edited with facsimiles by B. C. Mazumdar.⁹ Like other charters of the Sōmavamāṣī kings of Orissa, it comprises a set of three plates of copper (*tri phalī-tāmra-śāsana*). Dated in the third regnal year of Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamējaya, this is one of the earliest Sōmavamāṣī charters. It purports to record the grant by the Sōmavamāṣī king Mahā-Bhavagupta I of the village of Vakratēntalī situated in the Lupa-

ttarā-*khaṇḍa* (the district known as Lupattarā) to a Brāhmaṇa named Jātarūpa who was a student of the Chhandōga *charaṇa* and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*. He is described as a resident of a place called Mēraṇḍā and is further stated to have immigrated from a place the name whereof has been deciphered by Mazumdar as Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara (*Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara-vinir-gatāya*).¹⁰ But a close look at the facsimile accompanying the text leaves no room for doubt that what has been read by Mazumdar as *phaṁ* is in reality *yām*. While its form is quite different from that of *pha* in the word *phalam* in line 20, it bears a close resemblance to the *akshara yā* in *puṇyā* in line 16 and *smadīyā* in line 20 of the same record. The expression in question should, therefore, be read as *Rāḍhāyām Vallikandara-vinirgatāya*. It would, thus, follow that the donee originally hailed from a village known as Vallikandara situated in Rāḍhā.

Rāḍhā is a well-known geographical unit and broadly corresponded to south-west Bengal.¹¹ We may thus conclude that the donee originally belonged to the province of Rāḍhā in West Bengal. There is nothing surprising about it as some of the donees figuring in Sōmavamśī charters are known to have come from other distant localities. The donee might have immigrated to the Sōmavamśī kingdom because of being attracted by the generosity of the Sōmakulī ruler Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamējaya. It also throws light on the mobility of the Brāhmaṇas during the early mediaeval period, a phenomenon known from several other records belonging to various parts of the country, and shows further that Rāḍhā in West Bengal was a well-known centre of Brahmanical culture during this age.

We are, however, not in a position to suggest the identification of the village Vallikandara.

Notes :

1. L. P. Pandya Sarma, 'A New Charter of Mahā-Sudēvarāja of Śarabhapura', *IHQ*, xxi (1945), pp. 274-75. Also see D.C. Sircar, 'King Durgarāja of the Śarabhapuriya Dynasty', *Ibid.*, xxii (1946), pp. 62-63; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, p. 12, no. 53.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, xxxi, pp. 314-16.

3. See *ibid.*, ix, pp. 281-85; xxiii, pp. 18-22; ix, pp. 171-73; xxxii pp. 103-08; *CII.*, iii, pp. 193-94 and 197-200.
4. This is the only charter of Mahā-Sudēvarāja issued from Śrīpura. All other charters were issued from Śarabhapura.
5. Text line 4. See *Ep. Ind.*, xxxi, p. 315, fn. 5.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 315, text line 10 and fns. 6 and 7.
7. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, plate facing p. 12.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, xxxi, p. 314.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, xi, pp. 93-95, and plates facing pp. 94 and 95.
10. Text line 12.
11. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, second edition, Delhi, 1971, p. 217.

THE [F*]UTILITY AND (F)UTILITY OF PALAEOGRAPHY IN DATING UNDATED INSCRIPTIONS

K. V. Ramesh

TRUE TO MY CAREER AS AN EPIGRAPHIST I have adopted two favourite technical devices of the professional epigraphists while using the word futility twice in the title of my paper. In the first instance, I have placed initial 'f' within square brackets with an asterisk mark in order to emphasise that, though the utility of comparative palaeography in matters of dating cannot be overstated, it is often rendered futile when resorted to in order to prop up preconceived notions; in the second instance, I have placed initial 'f' within round brackets in order to tell those who question the advisability of resorting to palaeographical dating that it does have its utility and that, therefore, initial 'f' is, in fact, redundant.

Now, to proceed with the subject matter of my paper: In the course of academic discussions I frequently indulge in, many of my learned friends have often put searching questions to me regarding the great reliance that is necessarily placed on comparative palaeography in order to date undated inscriptions. Whenever I listened to such questions, I had always been able to discern in their voice an element of doubt, if not of total disbelief. And I attribute the origin of this doubt in their minds to the fact that scholars, even the reputed ones, have held differing views, mostly to prop up their preconceived notions, on the palaeographical dating of any given undated inscription.

To quote an instance or two, the undated Halmiḍi (Hassan District, Karnataka) inscription, allegedly written

during the reign of Kadamba Kākusthavarman, is taken by some scholars to belong, on palaeographical grounds, to the middle of the 5th century A. D., while a few other scholars have held, on the very same grounds of palaeography, that it is as late as the second half of the 6th century A. D. Again, the Durjanpur Jaina image inscriptions of a certain *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta are considered by some scholars to belong to the Gupta period and, therefore, to the second half of the 4th century A. D., while some others argue that they were caused to be engraved by some little known local chieftain not earlier than the 6th century A. D. Such instances, highlighting sharp differences of opinion among senior scholars in regard to the palaeographical dating of undated inscriptions, are legion and it is, therefore, no wonder that upcoming students of epigraphy choose to question the very veracity of resorting to comparative palaeography for purposes of assigning any given undated inscription to this century or that. Since I had myself got confused by the voicing of such divergent opinions expressed by established epigraphists, I started making a first-hand study of the problem in the course of which I noticed a few points of interest, some of them perhaps not for the first time, which I make bold to present in the sequel.

I took up as a test-region the State of Karnāṭaka, if only because my place of work is therein located. Nevertheless, with certain subtle variations here and there, the observations, which I will be presently making, hold good for the entire country; and, also, I have not consciously tried to avoid references to the inscriptions and the palaeography of regions other than Karnāṭaka. I must also point out here that, for obvious reasons, I am confining myself to the period from about the 4th century A. D. to the end of the 10th century A. D., for, with the dawn of the medieval period, resorting to palaeography alone for dating undated inscriptions becomes a hopeless task.

The first point I would like to discuss here pertains to what may be roughly stated as the difference which distinguishes, even on a superficial examination, settled and, in varying degrees, stylised inscriptional writings from those

that are not. I would like to allude here, for substantiation, to the early Kadamba inscriptions, particularly to the stone inscriptions at Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍnāpura, on the one hand, and the Halmiḍi inscription on the other. It is well-known that the Kadamba inscriptions at Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍnāpura are all in Sanskrit while the Halmiḍi inscription has cornered the credit of being the earliest so far known Kannaḍa record. Though all these undated Kadamba epigraphs are, as per my careful consideration, contemporaneous, the Halmiḍi inscription alone among them has become a subject of controversy as far as its date is concerned. This is essentially because, though it is also a Kadamba record, it is in a class by itself, or, rather, it does not fall into the same class as the Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍnāpura inscriptions. From the point of writing, the Sanskrit Kadamba records, even the mutilated ones from Tālagunda and Banavāsi, belong to the class of settled and stylised writing, while the Halmiḍi inscription has letters which are unsettled and uncultivated, no doubt giving an impression, or rather an illusion, even to the trained eye, that it is, in date, later than the period to which it really belongs, namely the fifth century A.D. This difference, according to me, is really the difference, with all its implications and side-effects, between the settled and stylised 'urban' writing as it was then practised: that is, the urban palaeography, as it is now viewed, of the Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍnāpura inscriptions and the rural palaeography of the Halmiḍi inscription. To make my point clearer—we know now that, during the period of the early Kadambas, Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍanāpura were, unlike today, important centres of political and religious activities and were also centres of learning. On the other hand, Halmiḍi was, much as it is today, an insignificant village which has come to boast of that ancient inscription only because it was gifted away as a reward for bravery. Again, in the writing and engraving of the Tālagunda, Banavāsi and Guḍnāpura Sanskrit inscriptions the Kadamba kings were more or less directly involved and it is only natural that they would have employed the very best among available composers, writers and engravers. On the contrary,

the Halmiḍi epigraph is primarily a hero-stone inscription in which the Kadamba ruler received the first mention merely as a matter of protocol, only his subordinates being directly involved in making the gift and having it recorded on stone. It is only reasonable to suppose that some local composer, whose forte was the regional language affected, of course, by a generous sprinkling of Sanskrit words and phrases, was requisitioned to compose the text which was got to be engraved by a stone-cutter who was not even aware of the proper formation of the script of his region, let alone the introduction of any perfection or art in its writing. I say he may not have been aware of the proper formation of those early Kadamba letters because he appears to have been confused on where to stop the left upward line of the letters *k* and *r* which happen to be the two most important test-letters for early Kannaḍa palaeography upto, say, the end of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

In my study of Indian inscriptions, I have been able to discern the presence of the 'urban' and 'rural' strains of palaeography all over the country. Scholars labouring in the field of epigraphy are all well aware of the many beautifully engraved *Siddhamātrikā* and early Nāgarī inscriptions of the north. The meticulous care with which most of these inscriptions have been composed and their urban palaeography, that is to say, the learned hand and artistic skill with which they have been engraved on stone, clearly point out to the influence of royal patronage in their creation. Compare them with the early epitaphs of Osian in Rajasthan. Though these brief inscriptions, many of them dated, belong to the same age and are in an area which does boast of many beautiful early inscriptions, they do betray the influence of the rural hand both in the matter of their composition and writing. Here again we have good illustrations for urban and rural palaeography.

The same urban and rural elements of palaeography manifest themselves, perhaps a little more boldly, in the post-Kadamba Karnāṭaka inscriptions. Suffice it to compare the 'urban' palaeography of the Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of the Vātāpi Chalukyas with their Kannaḍa and Telugu

inscriptions, which are either brief land grants or hero-stones, got engraved at places far removed from their seats of power, and are characterised by rural palaeography, as for instance the Kottūr inscription of Vijayāditya or the inscriptions of his predecessors and successors in the Cuddapah-Anantapur region. So also most of the Kannaḍa hero-stone inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭas are characterised by 'rural palaeography'.

Speaking on the same lines as above, it may also be asserted that not all, but only certain dynasties, and that too, not necessarily throughout the period of their existence, and not even throughout the extent of their kingdoms devoted special attention to careful and stylised writing resulting in the creation of inscriptions in which we today recognise urban palaeography. The Ikshvāku, Kadamba, Pallava and Vātāpi Chalukya families, among some others, fall in this category.

On the other hand, the kingdoms of the Ālupas of South Kanara on the west coast of Karnāṭaka and the Bāṇas provide two examples of interesting contrast. South Kanara, in the early period of its history, had gone through a period of semi-isolation, largely owing to its geographical situation, and political independence. This isolation had brought about slower scriptal development in that small territory, resulting in the retention of earlier forms, here and there, even in later inscriptions from the region.

On the other hand, the engraving of letters in early Bāṇa inscriptions shows certain peculiar departures from those of contemporaneous epigraphs elsewhere in Karnāṭaka and these could be considered either as deviations or as resulting from attempts at ornamental or stylised writing. What is of interest to us in this context is the fact that, in trying to thus depart from the normal ways of writing, Bāṇa scribes and engravers seem to have unconsciously anticipated future developments in the writing of the Kannaḍa script. I may refer here, for a typical example, to the Peddavaḍugūru inscription of a certain Eṇeyati-aḍigaḷ,

who, on the strength of the internal evidence of the epigraph, is to be identified with the famous Pulakēśin II. The formation of the test letters *r* and *k* in this epigraph is such that they appear to belong to the second half of 7th century or even the earlier part of the 8th when Pulakēśin II was no longer alive. But the overwhelming temptation to thus give a later palaeographical date to this Peddavaḍu-gūru inscription could be easily overcome when we compare its writing with other datable Bāṇa inscriptions in which the letters *k*, *j*, *r*, *l*, etc. show, in the very nature of their ornamentation, certainly unintended later characteristics.

A similar peculiarity, contributed by Jainism to Karnāṭaka epigraphy and palaeography, is well worth a brief discussion here. Right from the 7th century onwards, the Jainas of Karnāṭaka, who were in considerable numbers and also influential, adopted Kannaḍa as their language-medium, and thence begin appearing a large number of Kannaḍa *Jina-śāsanas* all over Karnāṭaka. One important and abiding characteristic of these Jaina inscriptions is the care and artistic skill with which they were, for many centuries, composed and engraved. And an important result of this is the illusion of slow scriptal development which they create in the minds of their examiners. More than any other early epigraphs of Karnāṭaka, it is those early Jaina inscriptions which illustrate the fact that a carefully written epigraph and a contemporaneous and carelessly written inscription, when compared with each other, bring to light many palaeographical incompatibilities which could be convincingly explained away only in the light of relativity between urban and rural palaeography.

From the foregoing, the following two major conclusions may be arrived at as desirable guidelines for palaeographical dating of inscriptions:—

- 1) The urban or rural nature of a given undated inscription should be determined, which is quite an easy task, and one should always be prepared to assign, if internal evidence so warrants, an earlier date than its exact scriptal formations would suggest.

2) In determining the probable date of any undated inscription solely on the basis of palaeography, any dynastic, regional or religious influence in the retardation or advancement of the development of the script should be given due consideration.

3) Palaeographical dating being beset with uncertainties, peculiarities quite often transgressing regions and periods, mainly because writing is necessarily affected by the style and skill of individual scribes, sufficient care must be taken to see that any given inscription which awaits palaeographical dating has in its text enough numbers of letters, particularly enough numbers of test letters. This naturally means that coins, which necessarily contain only a limited number of letters making up the terse legends, should be dated through a combined study of comparative palaeography and internal and other historical evidence, palaeography being allowed to play in such cases only a limited role.

KHAṆḌAVALLI PLATES OF THE TIME OF KĀKATI PRATĀPARUDRA

C. Somasundara Rao

THE PRESENT CHARTER WAS FOUND nearly two decades ago at Khaṇḍavalli in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district, A. P. along with two other sets, viz., the Khaṇḍavalli plates of Kōṇa Haihaya Gaṇapati¹ and the Uttarēśvara grant of Rudrāmbā.² These plates were discovered by Sri K. Sambasiva Rao of Khaṇḍavalli while digging for the foundations of his house. They were later sent to the Department of History, Andhra University by Sri K. Satyanarayana.

This set of five plates records two gifts to a scholar Viddanāchārya, one registering the gift of 50 *khāris* of land in the village Vināyakapuram by Indulūri Annaya, in the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra and the second recording the gift of the village of Onapalli by Chāḷukya Induśekhara. The second grant was written on the second side of the 4th plate and on both sides of the 5th plate. The first grant ends with the imprecatory verses on the first side of the 4th plate. These two inscriptions have been dealt with separately as *A* and *B*.

The plates which measure 26 cm x 15.8 cm have a hole in the left margin through which passes a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal. The seal has in relief the figures of boar, cow and a dagger in the middle, of the Sun and the crescent-moon at the top, and at the bottom the legend *Dāya-gaja-kēsari* in the 13th century Telugu script. The plates, along with the ring and the seal, weigh 6 kgs 650 gms.

The characters belong to the 13th century Telugu script

and the palaeography closely agrees with that of the Uttarēśvara grant. The language is Sanskrit and mostly verse was used in the grants. Sanskrit prose and Telugu prose occur at the end, while referring to the names of the donees and the places gifted.

INSCRIPTION A

The inscription begins with invocations to deities, Vināyaka, Mahishāsūramardini, Varāha, and the crescent-moon on Śiva's head (vv. 1-4) and refers to the origin of Viṣṇu, Brahma and the three *lōkas*. Then follows a description of Āndhradēśa, the river Gautamī and of the Lord of Śrīśaila (vv. 5-6). The following four verses relate to the capital Ōrugallu, which was adorned by high towers and *vimānas* resounding the drum-beating of the temples. The city is also stated to be a centre of learning.

Verses 11-28 give the genealogy of the reigning king Kākati Pratāparudra from Prōla II. Prōla is stated to have vanquished his enemies, and his fame was sung on the earth and in heaven. His son Rudradēva conquered his enemies, and his fame reached the ends of all directions. He was succeeded by his brother Mahādēva who ruled over the kingdom with ease. He attacked a city (Dēvagiri ?) and surrounded it and succumbed to death in the battle. His son was the munificent Gaṇapati. The enemy kings paid homage to him. His wife was Sōmalidēvī and their daughter was Rudramāmbā. She got the kingdom of her father, being herself invincible like Chaṇḍikā. To her, the wife of Vīrayadēva (Vīrabhadra of the Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu) was born a daughter Mummaḍi, who, through her beloved Mahādēva, gave birth to a son Rudradēva.

Verses 29-32 speak of the prosperity of the reign of Pratāparudra in eulogistic terms. The king got sovereignty from his grandmother (mother's mother). He overpowered enemies with his valour (*pratāpa*,) and thereby acquired the title of *pratāpa* as a prefix to his name. In his rule, there were no thefts, no apprehensions, no obstacles and no natural or man-made calamities. There was no misery, no censure and no untruthfulness among the people. They were

following the tradition earnestly. There were rains thrice a month. The crops were luxuriant and on the increase. The fame of the king reached the abode of the gods.

Verses 33-39 trace the pedigree of Indulūri Annaya, the donor of the grant. He was the son of Gannaya and grandson of Mallena-mantri. Annaya is described as a good swordsman, as a loyal person to the king and as a munificent person who made the *kalpataru* feel jealous of him.

Verses 40-53 describe the achievement of Viddanāchārya, the donee of the grant, and of his family. He was the son of Śriraṅgāchārya and the grandson of Dēvanāchārya. Viddana is compared to Lord Vināyaka. Even the goddess of learning is said to have got astonished at his fame. He was honoured by Rudradēva, son of Pinnaya-yajvan. He went to the famous educational centre Vāgīśaratnākara and performed the *Sarvatō-mukha-yāga*. He got a temple built for the deity, Śiva-jñānēśvara at Bhīmavallabhapura, and a tank nearby. He was the author of *Pramēya-charchāmṛita* which contained the essence of the *Pūrva-* and *Uttara-Mīmāṃsas*. He had received the village of Uttarēśvarapura from Chālukya Induśekhara and he gave it away to brahmins. Annaladēva gave Viddanāchārya 50 *khāris* of land in the village Marpaḍigam, renamed as Vināyakapuram, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Friday in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada of the cyclic year Virōdhi in Śaka 1211 (16th September, 1289 A.D.). Viddana in turn distributed it to brahmins.

Lines 95-102 give the boundaries of the gifted land and lines 102-111 mention the names of the brahmins who received the land from Viddanāchārya and record that the dues from the potters, oil-mongers etc. should be paid to the brahmins. The donees numbering 24 belong to different *gōtras* viz, Hārīti Śrīvatsa, Kauṇḍinya, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja and Kapi.

Verses 55-56 are imprecatory.

The importance of the inscription lies in that it is the third copper-plate grant recording gifts to the celebrated personage, Viddanāchārya. The Khaṇḍavalli plates of Kōṇa Haihaya Gaṇapati and the Uttarēśvara grant are the two others which speak of this donee. The present grant follows

the Uttarēśvara grant in its composition. The following details relating to the scholarship and the activities of the donee are common to both: his performance of *Sarvatōmukha* at Vāgiśaratnākara, his authorship of *Pramēyacharch-āmṛita*, the digging of a tank at Bhīmavallabhapura and the installation of the deity Śivajñānēśvara at the same place.

In addition, the present grant states that the donee obtained the village Uttarēśvara from Chālukya Induśekhara (v. 45). It may be noted here that the present grant is dated 1289 A. D., September 16 i. e. five months earlier than the Uttarēśvara grant. It may be presumed that the formal bestowal of the gift was made by Induśekhara on 1290 A. D., February 25, the date of the Uttarēśvara grant.

Another point that calls for attention is that this grant was issued by Pratāparudra in his own right two months before the death of his grandmother Rudramadēvi. According to the Chandupaṭṭa record, the death of the Kākatiya queen took place in November, 1289 A. D. Inscriptions of Pratāparudra issued in his own name are available even from 1280 A. D. in the reign of Rudramadēvi. This grant also should belong to that category. But the description given of the reign of Pratāparudra in this inscription in verses 29-32 indicates his independent rule. By this time, Pratāparudra must have become *de facto* ruler.

The donor of the record is Indulūri Annala (Annaya), son of Gannaya, and grandson of Mallena, who held the hereditary post of minister. Annaya is known from his Tripurāntakam³ and Drākshārāma⁴ records dated in Śaka 1213 and 1215 respectively. He was called as *Pradhāni* and *Mahāpradhāni*. The donor's father Gannaya is also known from his Tripurāntakam inscriptions.⁵ In the inscription dated Śaka 1181, he is described as *bāhattaraniyōgādhipati* of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva.⁶ It may be noted that while these inscriptions give the name of Gannaya's father as Gaṇapaya, the present grant mentions him as Mallena. Annaya married Ruyyama, a daughter of Rudramadēvi.

Of the villages mentioned in the record, Vēnavelli (ōnapalli ?), Penumiṭṭi, Ḍuttiga and Rāli figure as border

villages of Vināyakapura. Ḍuttiga is the same as modern Juttiga in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district. If Vēnavelli were Ōnapalli, the gift-village of Inscription B edited below, then it had Kaḍami and Uttarēśvarapura on its borders. Again, the Uttarēśvara grant refers to Prēkēru (Pēkēru in Tanuku taluk), Mukrōmala (Mukkāmala in the same taluk), Pūlapaṅti (same as the village granted to the donee by Haihaya Gaṇapati, and renamed as Anyamāvaram in the Redḍi period,⁷ and identical with Annavarappāḍu in the same taluk), Kaḍami and Ōnapalli as lying in different directions of Uttarēśvarapura. Though it is not easy to identify the gift-villages like Vināyakapura, Uttarēśvarapura and Ōnapalli, their location seems to be somewhere in the Tanuku taluk. Bhīmavallabhapura may be identified with Bhīmavaram in the West Godavari district.

INSCRIPTION B

This inscription starts with invocations, in the first three verses to Gaṇapati, Varāha form of Viṣṇu, and the crescent-moon on the head of Śiva. Then Induśekhara (II), the donor of the record, is mentioned as the son of Mahādēva and grandson of Induśekhara (I). He gifted the village of Ōnapalli to Viddanāchārya, son of Śrīraṅgachārya, and grandson of Dēvanāchārya, on the occasion of an *arddhodaya* in the cyclic year Khara in Śaka 1213 corresponding to 1292 A. D., January 20.

The donor is the same as Induśekhara II of the Uttarēśvara grant.

A word about the legend *dāya-gaja-kēsari* found on the seal of the plates. This title is not met with on the seals or in the description of the rulers in the other copper-plate grants of the dynasty. But evidences have been cited to show that titles like *ari-gaja-kēsari* and *dāya-gaja-kēsari* were borne by Prōla II and Gaṇapati.⁸ The title *dāya-gaja-kēsari* could be traced in the Bekkallu inscription of the time of Rudradēva dated Śaka 1097 and the Tērāla inscription of the time of Kumāra (Prātāpa) Rudra dated Śaka 1213.⁹ In the latter inscription, Prātāparudra is stated to have had this title as a *lāñchhana* i.e., title used by his predecessors.

TEXT 10

INSCRIPTION A

(Metres : Verses 1, 5, 6, 37 - *Sragdharā*; 2, 35-36, 44-46, 49, 52-53 - *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; 3 - *Mālinī*; 4 - *Śikharinī*; 7 - *Rathōddhatā*; 8, 10, 27-29, 42 - *Indravajrā*; 9, 11 - 17, 24 - 26 30 - 33, 41, 47 - 48 - *Upajāti*; 18, 23, 38 - 40, 43, 50, 51 - 55 - *Anuṣṭubh*; 34 - *Svāgatā*; 54 - *Śālinī*).

FIRST PLATE : FIRST SIDE

1. Siddham¹¹ svasti । Dēvas = [s*]tambēramāsyah kara-ṣi-khara-payah-ṣikarais = tāvakīnam chētaḥ śītam vidhattām da-
2. layatu timiram danta-lēkhā-mayūkhaiḥ । Dūrē dhunōtu vighna-prakaram = anukalam
3. nyagra-karṇāgravāraś = chūḍā-simḍūra-dhūli-vitati-bhir = avatād = dharmma-karmm-ānurāgam (gam) 11 [1*] Mādyamtaṁ
4. mahishāsuraṁ giri-nibhaṁ nyakkṛitya vāmāṁghriṇā mā bhūt = kampa itīva dakṣiṇa-padā sambhā-
5. vayantī bhuvam (vam) । Āśāsv-ashṭasu rakshitum kila jagad = bāhāshṭakam bibhrati sā Śaktir = nniṭalākshinishṭhu-
6. ra-ruchā yushmad-ripūn = paśyatu 11 [2*] Anupadam = avadhunvan = daṁshṭrayā daitya-vamśān = upanishad = a-
7. tavīnām = amtarē samcharishṇuḥ [1*] niyamavid-achalānām = amtar-ākṛānti-śālī prathama-kirir = a-
8. jasraṁ pātu dēvīm dharitrīm 11 [3*] Śarān = muktvā pamchāpy = aphilita-rushā chitta-janushā parikṣiptam paushpam

9. dhanur = i(i)va kirīṭē smara-rushaḥ | kalā yasya sphūrttim bhajati rajaniśaś = cha bhavatām prasāda-
10. pratyūhā vighaṭayatu tāmīra-pāṭalam(lam) || [4*] Dēvaḥ pāthōdhiśāyī prathamam = ajana-
11. yan = nābhi-nāḷika-garbhād = Brahmāṇam bhūr = bhuvas = trayam = asṛijad = asau tatra bhūr = llōka-bhūshā | Am-
12. dhraḥ khalv = asti dēśaḥ sakala-sukha-paripāka-saurabhya-sīmā yatr-āstē mukta-muktāvalir = iva vimalā
13. Gautamī-nāma Gaṁgā || [5*] Bāshpair = ānamda-jātair = iva kaṭaka-taṭī-jharjharair = nnirjhar-aughair = ddōrbhir = vyāsakta-nṛittair = i-
14. va valita-marut-kāmpitaiś = śākhikāṁḍaiḥ | gānair = ggāṁdhāra-garbhair = iva madhuratamais = tat-prasūnāni nādais = sā-
15. rddham yatra sthitaḥ Śrīgīrir = akhilapatiḥ mauḷi-bhāgē dadhānaḥ || [6*] Ōrumgallu-nagaraṁ virājatē tatra gōpu-
16. ra karaṁbit-āmbaram(ram) | dēvatā-bhavana-bhavya-bhērikā-rāva-rāṇita-vimāna-gahvaram(ram) || [7*] Śit-ātapā-sāra-
17. sabāś = chiraṁ yat = prāsāda - pāṭishu suvarṇa-kumbhāḥ | ālambya Vishṇōḥ padam = aṁganānā-
18. m = urōja-sāmyāya tapaś = charanti || [8*] Bālātapā yatra balādhi(di)vāsām yach-chhaṁti harmmyā-

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

19. ni gavāksha-mārggaiḥ | bhavat-pratāpās = tirayantu nāsmān = itiva sēvām = upa-
20. gantu-kāmāḥ || [9*] Dēśāntarād = āgaminaḥ pumā-mśaḥ sarvvāsu vidyāsv = api sārabhā-
21. jaḥ || (l) śāstr-ārttha-saṁdēha-nirāsa-rītiḥ yasmin labh-antē śuka-sārikābhyaḥ || [10*] Tatr = ābhava-

22. t = Kākati-vamśa-kētuḥ-Prōl = āhvayaḥ prōshita-
vairivarggaḥ | bhuvāḥ-patir = yasya bhu-
23. ja-pratāpa-pratich = chhavir-nnūnam-abhiṃ(biṃ)tha
(dha)nāgniḥ || [11*] Gātuṃ yadiya-pratipādanāni pa-
24. ryyutsukānām pramadāvanānām(nām) | pushṇanti
tānam puruhūta-lōkē pṛithvī
25. ruhāḥ pushpāliḥām virāvaiḥ || [12*] Yaśāmsi yasya
sphuṭam = ullasanti trilōka-ni-
26. lōtpala-lōchanānām(nām) | kamṭhēshu karṇnēshu payo-
dharēshu hāranti hīram-
27. ¹² ty-api chandananti || [13*] Sa Rudradēvan = tana-
yan = tam = urvviṃ kāla-kramāt = pālayi-
28. tuṃ didēśa | yasya pratāpēna hutāśanēna plusṭam
nabhō nūnam = upaiti
29. nailyaṃ(yam) || [14*] yasy = āri-bhūpāla-vilāsinibhyaḥ
śvās-ānil-ōtthair = vvana-vāsinibhyaḥ | lāva-
30. ṇya-bhikshām = upagantum = ēva pravāḷa-hastair =
llatikā yatantē || [15*] Yat-kīrtti-sāraṅga-
31. vilōchanāyāḥ digbhiḥ sakhībhiḥ parivāravatyāḥ |
manyē ghanānām pathi lōla-
32. mānam krīḍākaram kamḍukam = imdu-bimbam
(bam) || [16*] Asau Mahādēva iti śrutāya kanī-
33. yasē khamḍita-vairi-varggam(gam) | dadhau dharitri-
valayāvi(dhi)patyam kīrtiyaiva rantum kila rakta-
chētāḥ || [17*] A-
34. sāv = achala vakshōjām nadī-nakshatra-mālikām
(kām) | adhatta līlayā dēvim = ananyām sāv-

SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE

35. gar-āmbarām(rām) || [18*] Parimlāna-yaśaḥ-pushpā
srasta-prākāra-mēkhalā || (l) sa kadāchid = a

36. rāṭiyām chakrē kām = ākulām purīm (rīm) | (II) [19*]
Kumbhayōḥ sa karīmdrasya jaya-śrīḥ = kuchayō-
37. r = iva [1*] samvivēśa raṇē rātrau rakta-chamdana-
charchchitaḥ | (II) [20*] Tatō Gaṇapatis = tasya dāna-
śrī-nilaya-
38. ḥ sutaḥ | dadhāra ratnadāmāmkām karēṇa valayam
bhuvah | (II) [21*] Yat-pāda-pīṭha-vinyastam praśa-
39. stam vasaṇam babhau | Chirārjitam = iv-ārīṇām yaśaḥ
śaraṇam = āgataḥ(tam) | (II) [22*] Yat-pāda-pīṭha pa-
40. ryyantam kuṭmalikṛita-pāṇayaḥ || (I) nīrājayanti
rājānaś = chūḍāmaṇi-marīchibih(bhiḥ) || [23*] Ya-
41. sya pratīpa-kṣhitibhṛit = kulānām kirīṭa-samghaṭṭan-
ayā saśampā | nipīta-vāris = tara-vāri-yashtē-
42. r = ddhārādharatvam prakāṭi-chakāra || [24*] Āsit =
tamām Sōmalir = aśya dēvi Puraṇdarasy = ēva
43. Pulōma-kanyā | Saubhāgya-lakshmīr-iva Rudramāmbā
putrī tayōḥ puṇyavaśā-
44. ch = chakāśē || [25*] sā Chamḍik = ēv-āpratipaksha-
vṛittih kālēna rājyam pitur = āśasāda | parisphuram-
45. tyām pada-padma-kāṁtyām = ārādhitā rāji(ja)bhīr =
uttamāṁgaiḥ || [26*] Yasyā vitīrṇaiḥ kila chinta-
yanti chintā-
46. maṇiḥ sthāvaratām jagāma | yasyā yaśaḥ sāmnyam =
anāśrayanti dhēnuś = cha divyā-surabhir = bba-
47. bhūva || [27*] Tasyām = abhūd = Virayadēva-patnyām
mugdh-ākṛitir = Mmummaḍi-nāmadhēyā | patyau Ma-
48. hādēva-nṛipē sa-rāgā sa Rudradēvam sushuvē kumāram
(ram) || [28*] Bhāgyēna sārḍham parivardhamānaḥ
sa prā-

49. pya rājyaṁ janani-jananyāḥ | Ārād = arātīn = kratha-
yan pratāpād = āpnōt pratāp-ādimam = ātma-
50. nāma || [29*] Yasmin = mahīm śāsati naiva chauryyaṁ
na dainyavṛttir = nna parāpavādaḥ | nāsatiya-bhāshā
bha-
51. vati prajānām kula-kram-āchāra-kutūhalānām (nām) ||
[30*] Yādīya rājyē sati māsi māsi vā-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

52. ra-trayaṁ varshati varivāhaḥ | Janā nirātāṁka-nirīti-
śamkā bhavanti sasyāni chayaṁ-
53. ti ru(ri)ddhim || [31*] Ki(Kī)rttir = yyadi(dī)
yā lulitāmbara-Śrīḥ payōdhara - sphūrttim - adar-
śayanti | Na-
54. kshatra-māl-ābharaṇaṁ vahantī bibhartti bhavyaṁ
sumanō-vikāsaṁ(sam) || [32*] Mānyaḥ satām Malle-
55. na-mamtri - putrān - mahābalād = Gannaya-nāmadhē-
yāt | Udēyivān = Annala (ya)dēva-hūtir = amā
56. tyatām prāpad = amushya rājñāḥ || [33*] Imdulūrur =
iti yaś = cha (yasya) kulīna-grāma-nāma nija-nāma
vi-
57. śimshat | Bibhrad = ātma - guṇa - paṁktim = anan-
yām = avyanad = daśasu dikshu janēbhyaḥ || [34*]
Yad = bāhā-
58. bala - saṁpadā kuṭilita - bhrū - kalpa-kōdamdayā nir -
mmuktā niśitāḥ śarāḥ kuvalay-ā-
59. ¹³rūkshāḥ kaṭākshā iva | - Prāp uṁ saṁgaram =
ihinām pratibhaṭa - Śrī - saṁginām nīrbharaṁ
bhiṁdana
60. hṛidayani raktima-daśām na kvāpy = ahō bibhrati ||
[35*] Yan = nistri[m*]śa-sitētarāhi-rahita-śvā-
61. sanila-grasavan praptuṁ tan = mahila-vilāsa-haṣitaṁ
kshīraṁ kalat = kauśalaḥ | Mat-kaṁ

62. tyā vara-lampatā vara-vadhū - hast-ōtpala-sraktvishām
mābhūn = mānir = itiva nirmmala-yaśō nirmmō-
kam = ā-
63. mumchati || [36*] Śaśvad = yasya triloṅki-tilakita-
yaśasas = tyā(tyā)gam = ākarṇya nūnam prāpta
sparddhālu-
64. bhāvaṁ vitaraṇa-nipuṇam sthāvarātmā śarirī | pushpaiḥ
krōdh-ātṭahāsam vahati kisalayai-
65. r = ādhivahnīm dvi-rēphair = ddhūma-stōmam cha
kiṁ cha sphurita - phalamishā[t*] prāmtarēshu
sphuliṅgān || [37*] Yaḥ
66. satvi (?) nija-rājājñām na kadāchid = alamghayat [1*]
Īśvar = echchhām = iva srashṭā vēlām - iva mah-
ōdadhiḥ || [38*]
67. Akarmma-kathinē tāmre yasya pāṇau kṛipāṇikā |
vibhāti prasabh-ākṛishṭā vēṇ-iva ri-
68. pu-sampadaḥ || [39*] Dēvanāchāryya sambhūtaḥ
Śrīraṁgāchāryya-sambhavē sa bhaktim Vi-

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

69. ddanāchāryyō Vināyaka iv = ākarōt || [40*] Prōlēś-
varasy-āspadam = Imdumaulir = adhyāsitu-
70. r = yyatra Vināyakasya | Ananya-vṛittiḥ karuṇā cha-
kāsti nāthē nadīnām = iva Jahnuka-
71. nyā || [41*] Dān - ārdra-hastāmchita - pushkara-śrīr =
nnityam śivābhyām = upalālyamānaḥ | Ārādhitām-
72. ghriḥ sumanōbhīr = āstē Vaināyakiyam śriyam =
aśnuvānaḥ || [42*] Brūmaḥ kiṁ Viddanā-
73. chāryya-putraḥ Pinnaya-yajvanaḥ | Rudradēvaḥ puri-
rārīr = ajayad = yat = prasādataḥ || [43*] Vidyā-
74. nady = anushaṁgi-cham(bham)gima-puram Vāgiśaratn-
ākaram yasminn = ēyushi sarvatōmukha-makham

75. kīrttipradam tanvati | chitraṁ chaṁdraka = rōchishah
sumanasām chakshuh-priyam-bhāvukā dhūmyā-mam-
76. ḍalinaḥ kalāpina iva kshubhyanti hōmāgnayaḥ || [44*]
Yaḥ prāpya svayam = Imduśekhara-nṛipā-
77. ch - Chālukya - vaṁśōdbhavād = aṣṭaiśvaryyamad =
Uttarēśvarapuram grāmaṁ mahībhūṣaṇam(ṇam) | Bha-
78. ktyā brāhmaṇasād = vidhāya bhavanē lakshmi-bhujā-
vallarī-vēllat-kamkaṇa-jhallarī-
79. jhaṇa-jhaṇān = bhūyaḥ sam-ākarnṇayat || [45*] Kai-
lāsach-chhavi-Bhīmavallabhapurē yaś = chaṁ-
80. dra-chūdāmaṇēr = āgāraṁ niramāpayad = guru-Śiva-
jñānēśvarasy-ākhyayā | Tasyāḥ śekhāritē-
81. na tat-parisarē Gaṁg = ēti-nāmnā chalad = vichī-vithi-
taḍāgam = apy = anudinaṁ phēnaiḥ payōdhiṁ ha-
82. sat || [46*] Ādāya pūrvvōttara-tamtrasāram = agum-
phayad = gramtham = akalmashaṁ yaḥ | graivēyakam
vā-
83. g = adhidēvatāyāḥ Pramēyacharchchāmṛita-nāma-
dhēyam(yam) || [47*] Dēvyā girā vismitayā yadiyē
kīrtti-
84. prasūnē nija - karṇnadēśam(śam) | ārōpitē tatra na
vastum = īshṭē hriyēva pūrvvam sumanō-vataṁsaḥ ||
[48*]
85. Śākābdē prithuv-imdu-pūsha-gaṇitē varshc Virōdhī
prathē Bhādrē śyāmala-paksha-parvvaṇi Kavēr =
vvārē

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

86. ravēś = cha grahē | grāmaṁ Marppaḍigam sa sarvva-
vibhavam tam Viddanāryyam prati prādād = Annala-
dēva-nā-
87. ma-sachivaḥ śrēshṭhaḥ Kapēr = ggōtriṇām(ṇām) || [49*]
paṁchāśat = khāri-saṁkhyāka-kshētraṁ grāmaṁ = a-

88. sāv-imam(mam) | prādāya Viddanāryyāya svam kṛitār-
tham = amanyata || [50*] Tam grāmam = atha vikhyā-
89. tam Vināyakapur-ākhyayā | akarōd = Viddanāchāryy-
aḥ karttā Vaināyakam priyam(yam) || [51*]
90. Āhūya dvija-sattamān - nija-kula - śri-padmini - bhās-
karān = vidyāvalli-varadrumān = vinayi-
91. tā pushpāli - pushpamdhayān | sadyaḥ prītamānā
Vināyakapuram tad = Viddanāryyaḥ svayam
92. prādād = idrīśa-chētasā sumanasā kinnāma nō labhy-
atē || [52*] Sarvvā yat = kshitir urvv = arā yad = abhitaḥ
93. samchāri gāmgam jalam yat-paryyanta-vanam vara-
druma-śataṁ yat-prāmjalam sātpa(dva)lam(lam) |
94. ¹⁴yaj-jātam nirupadravam nikhilam = apy = uddāma-
sārāspadam tad = brahma-prathitam Vinā-
95. yakapuram kēshām na tōshāvaham(ham) || [53*] Asya
grāmasya sīmānaḥ || Pūrvvataḥ | Vinā-
96. yakapurapu Venavelli penumiṛti muiyana-kuṭruna
tumma-putṭa | Āgnēyata-
97. ḥ | Vināyakapurapu ḍuttiga polamēra grachcha-putṭa ||
Dakshinātaḥ | Vināyakapurapu ḍu-
98. ttiga polamēra koṇaputṭa || Naiṛityataḥ Vināyakapur-
apu ḍuttiga Gaṁgādē[vi*] muiyana-kuṭru-
99. na mēḍi-boḍḍa || Paśchimataḥ Gaṁgādēvi naḍumu |
Vāyavyataḥ | Vināyakapurapu Rāli Gaṁ-
100. gādēvi muiyana-kuṭruna jenela vāmpu || Uttarataḥ |
Vināyakapurapu Rāli polamē-
101. ra Bhallabhīmuni-pumta barake-putṭa || Īśānyataḥ |
Vināyakapurapu Rāli Venavelli mu-
102. yvana-kuṭruna darbha-putṭa || ¹⁵ Ta ētē | Viṣṇu
ghaṭaśāsinaḥ | Viddana bha arddhī | Prōlē ghaṭaśā-

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

103. *sinah* | *Kaṛṇa-perumāḍi* *gha* | *Kēśava* *gha* | *Perumāḍi*
gha | *Chalamalaya* *gha* *arddhī* | *ētē* *nā-*
104. *rītāḥ* | *Sūryyadēva-bhaṭṭōpādhyāy* = *āgnisṭōm-āti-*
rātra-yajvanah | *Śrīvatsāḥ(saḥ)* | *Oṃgrē*
105. *Viśvanātha* *bha* *Eṇipōta* *ghaṭaśāsinaḥ* | *Sōmanātha*
gha | *Pōti* *gha* | *Koppēśvara* *gha* | *Anne*
106. *gha* | *Gaṃgādhara* *gha* | *Dēvarē* *gha* *arddhī* | *ētē*
kuṃḍinaḥ | *Trikōṭīśvara* *gha* | *Kaṭhya* *Vennakūṃta*
107. *gha* | *Talle* *gha* *pādī* | *Jōsya-perumāḍi* *gha* | *Bhāra-*
dvājāḥ | *Kaṃchibhaṭṭiḥ* | *Trem-*
108. *ki-perumāḍi* *gha* | *Prōle* *ghaṭaśāsinaḥ* | *Agrahāra-*
pradātārō | *śrīmad* = *ārā[dhya]-*
109. *Viddanāchāryyāḥ* *chatur* = *bhāginaḥ* [*h**] *Kapi-gōtrau*
(*gōtrāḥ*) | *Atra* *cha* *grāmē* *kuṃbha(kā)-*
110. *ra-tailakārādy* = *asṭādaśa* = *jātibhir* = *yyad* = *dēyam*
yach = *chānyan* = *mad[h*]yakam* *tat* = *sarvva-*
ēbhya *ēva* *viprē-*
111. *bhyō dattam*
[Lines 111-13 (Vv. 54-55) : Usual imprecatory verses].

INSCRIPTION B

(Metres : Verses 56, 62 - 63 - *Sragdharā*; 57, 59, 61, 64-
Śārdūlavikrīḍita; 58-*Vasantatilakā*; 60-*Vishamavṛitta*; 65-
Upajāti)

FOURTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

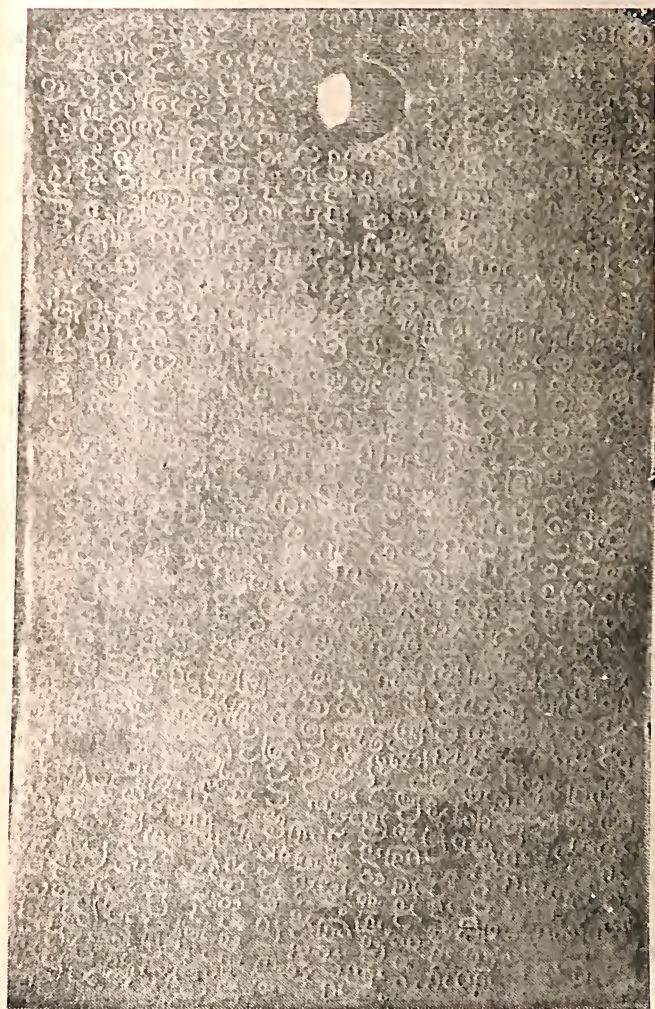
114. *Siddham*¹⁶ | *Śrī Gaṇapatayē nāmaḥ* || *Bhaktānām*
mukṭividhi(dhī)m = *iva* *sucharayitum* *dyōtamā-*
115. *n-āgradantaḥ* *saṃsāra-śrāntirekhām* = *iva* *vighaṭayi-*
tum *vijita-śrōtrapālīḥ* | *pra-*

116. tyartthi-vrāta-lakshmīm = iva malinayitum sām̐dra-
dānāmbudhāraḥ sa śrīmān = sā-
117. majāsyah sphuratu tava manaḥ padma-pīṭhē kṛipā-
luḥ || [56*] Yasy-āgrē śisava[nti di]-
118. k-karivarā mustāti kūrmmād i piḥ sarppaprāgraharā
bisanti taṭini kā[ntaś = cha]
119. kāsārati | kiṁ cha kshmāvalayaṁ vishāṇa-vilagach =
chhaivāla-jālaty = ahō [asau] brahmāmḍālpata-
120. yā nikumchita-mahākāyaḥ kiriḥ ātu vaḥ || [57*] Śrīm-
gāramārgga-chara-
121. m = īśvara-mattanāgam karitum kutūhalavataḥ Kusu-
māyudhasya | pu-
122. ¹⁷shpaiḥ kṛitā sṛiṇir = iv = ēṁdu - kalā-kapardda-
vyāsaṁginī bhavatu kām̐ya-vibhūtiyē
123. vaḥ || [58*] Prāsōshṭa prathamam payōdhiśayanam
padmāsanaṁ sa [tra]yaṁ lōkānām = a-
124. chalīkarī nṛipakulan = tat-āsti Sōmōdbhavam(vam) |
tasmin = bhūpatir = Imduśekhara iti prā(bhū)-
125. n = Mahādēvarāt = taj = janm-ābhavad = Imduśē-
khara iti kshmābhṛit = tataḥ prābhavat || [59*] Sa
ripupu-
126. ravadhū-vilāsa-hāsān = adharitavān = kara-chamdra-
hāsa-bhāsā | atīśayaḍ = akhara-
127. dyutir = yaśobhir = nnija-tanu - nihnuta-paṁchabāṇa-
lakshmiḥ || [60*] Māṇiky-ābharaṇā manōjña-va-
128. sanā mānyāmgarāgā madhu-svā (sphā) yan-mālyāmbarā
marāla-gamanā māyūra-
129. barhālakā | ramyām̐gō virāga kariṇī rājyasya lakshmi
svayaṁ ra . yē(ya)-

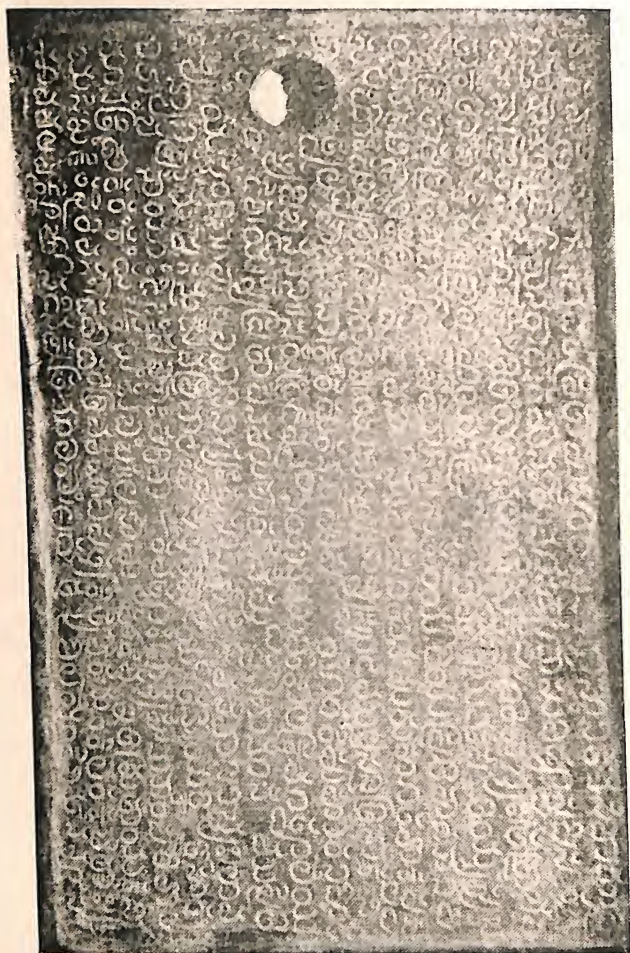
FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

130. tra tam = Imduśēkhara mahārājam nir = ādhōlakah
(?) || [61*] Rājā bhaktim sa dhattē ruchi-
131. ra-phalakariṁ Dēvanāchāryya sūnō(ś) - Śrīamg-
āchāryya nāmnas = tanu-janu-
132. shi śive Viddanāchāryya varyyē | Nityē rudrāksha-
mālā-valayini niya-
133. tē bhūti-bhavyāmgarāgē kīrttiṁ gaṁgā dadhānē
vibhu(bu)dha-parivṛitē puṇya kailāsa-
134. bhāji || [62*] Tam vaktum kē samartthā vividha
guṇa-mañir = Viddanāchāryya vārdhhiṁ ya-
135. n = mamtraiḥ kalpavṛikshair = jhagiti su-marasām
bhuktimukti phaladbhiḥ | svāya-
136. tyānām drumāṇām yaśasi paribhavam prāpitō pāmḍu-
varṇnam
137. prāyaḥ kshīrāmburāśis = tarelima-garimastēma-
bhūmānam-ēti | [63*]
138. Tasmai Viddana-nāmadhēya-vibudha-śrēṣṭhāya gōtrē
Kapēḥ sambhūtāya sa
139. Imduśēkhara - nṛipaḥ Śambhu - priyam - bhāvukaḥ |
Śākābdē guṇa-chandra-pūsha-gaṇi-
140. tē puṇyē Kharō(rē) = rddhōdayē bhōgair
asṭabhir = Ōnapallim = atulām prādatta vibhrāji-
141. tā[m] || [64*] Sa Viddanāchāryya-varas = tadānīm
tām = Ōnapalliṁ vasudhā-surēbhyaḥ | prādatta
142. samtōshakaraḥ surēbhyaḥ = parikṛtiṁ phalānām iva^{ts}
pārijātaḥ || [65*] Asya grāmasya sī-
143. mānaḥ | Pūrvvataḥ | Gaṁgādēva naḍumu | Āgney-
ataḥ | Ōnapalli Gaṁgādēvi

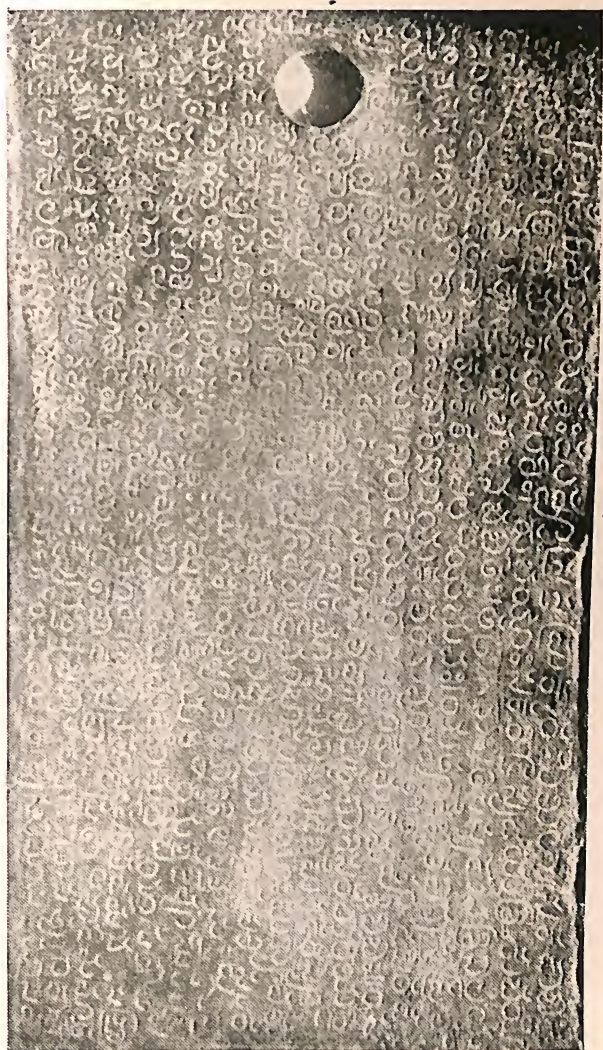
Khaṇḍavalli Plates: I a



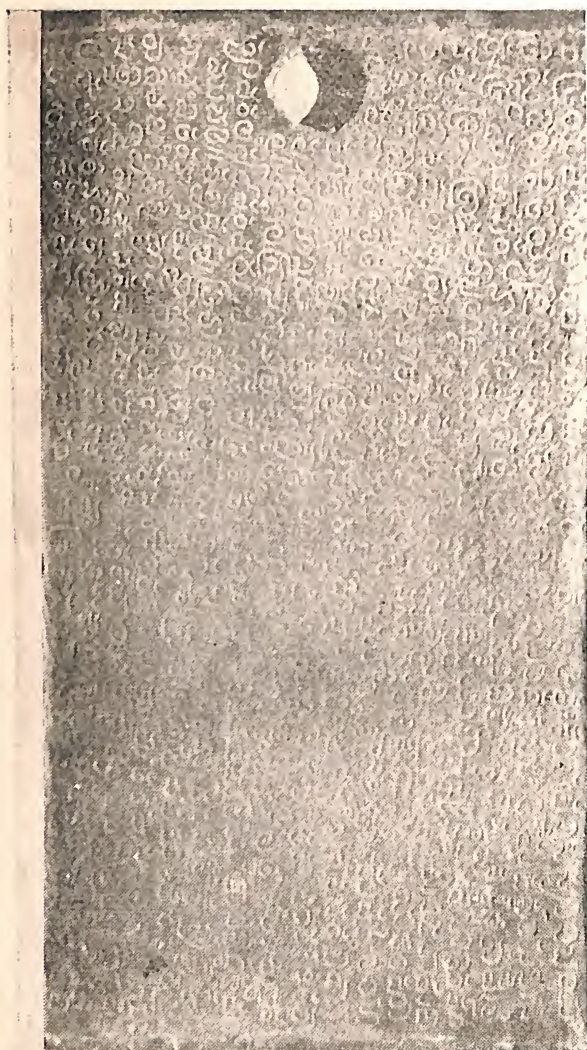
Khaṇḍavalli Plates: I b



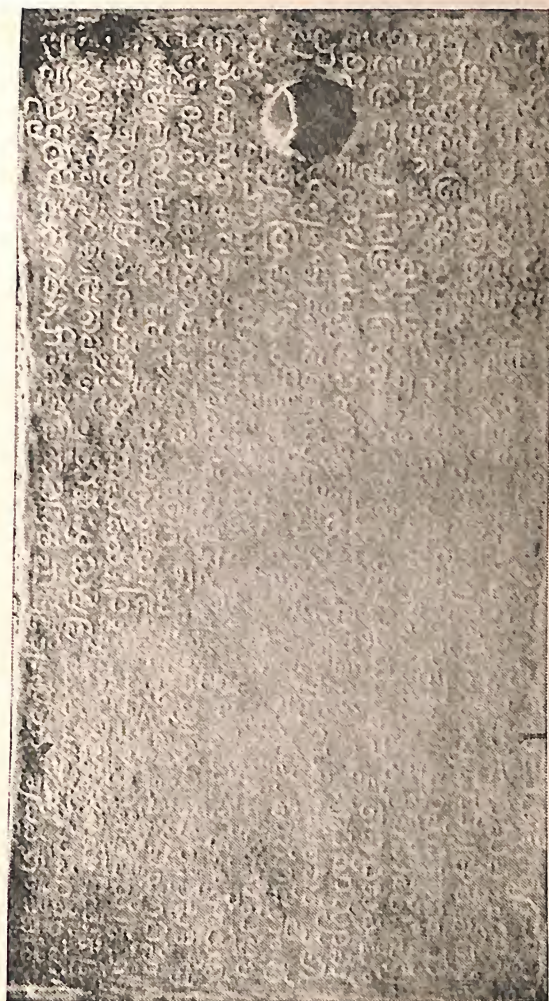
Khaṇḍavalli Plates: II a



Khaṇḍavalli Plates : II b



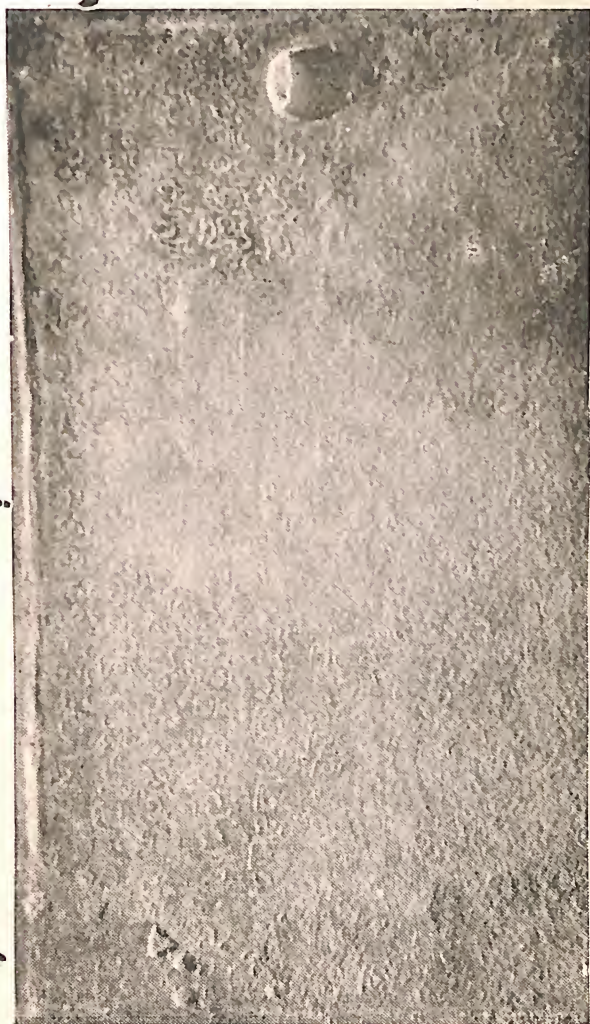
Khaṇḍavalli Plates : III a



Khaṇḍavalli Plates: III b



Khaṇḍavalli Plates : IV a



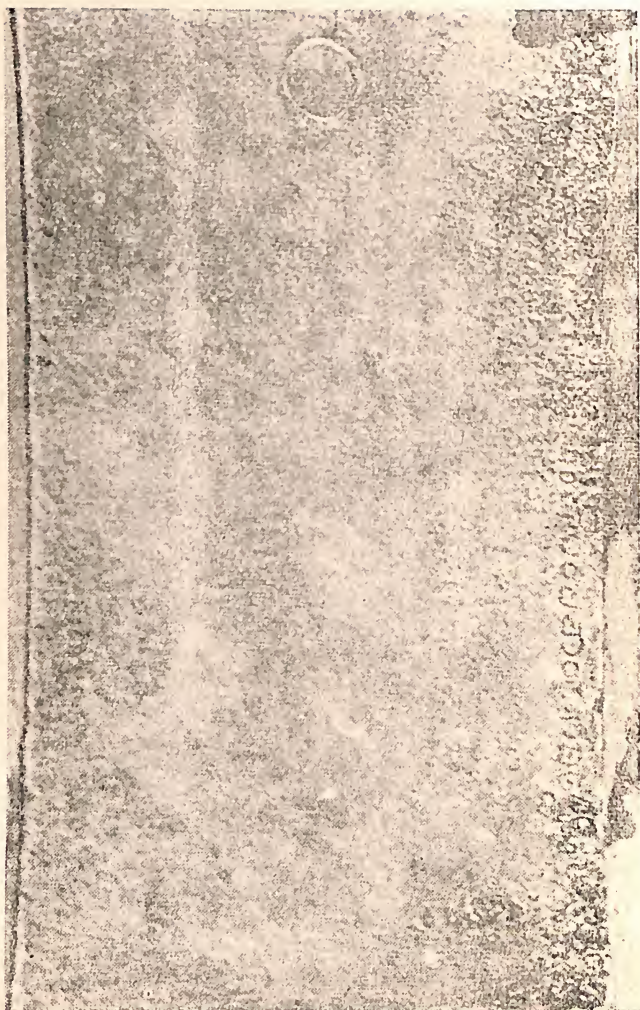
Khaṇḍavalli Plates : IV b



Khaṇḍavalli Plates: Va



Khaṇḍavalli Plates : V b



Khaṇḍavalli Plates : Seal



Skandar Image Inscription



144. kaḍami polamēra muyyana kuṭruna balasu puṭṭa ||
Dakṣhiṇataḥ | Onapalli

146. kaḍami polamēra taṁgaṭi puṭṭa | Naiṛityataḥ |
Onapalli kaḍami [polamēra]

FIFTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

146. paluvita puṭṭa | Onapalle [U]ttarēśvarapurē ēvām-
tarbhāvita [jja] tatsa

147. masy = ētarē sīmānaḥ ||

Notes :

1. *Bhārati*, Nov. 1959, pp. 35-40.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, pp. 76-93; *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 40 ff.
3. *SII.*, Vol X, No. 467.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1307.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 369 and 394.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 369.
7. *Bhārati*, October, 1960, p. 23.
8. P. V. Parabrahma Sastri, *Kākatīya Coins and Measures*, (A. P. Museum Series No. 14), p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
10. From the plates.
11. Expressed by a symbol.
12. The numeral 1 is incised at the beginning of the line.
13. The numeral 2 is incised at the beginning of the line.
14. The numeral 3 is incised at the beginning of the line.
15. From this to the end of this grant the writing shows some difference, probably that of another scribe.
16. Expressed by symbol.
17. The numeral 4 is incised at the beginning of the line.
18. The letter *va* is written below the line.

FURTHER NOTE ON THE UMĀ-MAHĒŚVARA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SKANDAR (AFGHANISTAN)

G. S. Gai

THIS INSCRIPTION HAS BEEN PUBLISHED by me in this journal, Vol. I, pp. 1-5. I have stated that the second verse of the inscription which forms the latter half of the record and which is attributed to the statement of God Mahādēva is difficult to read and interpret. Differing from the reading and interpretation proposed by Meiji Yamada and D.C. Sircar, I proposed to read this portion as follows:

ya[d-v-āgni]-ma(mū):i (rti)[ḥ*]pṛithivyā(vyām)
visō(sa)ramtē(nty = u)pālabhyatē ||
tad-vā = haṁ ch = aiva Viṣṇuś = cha Brahmā cha
ti(tri)ṭayaṁ gatā[ḥ*] ||

The inscription has been engraved rather carelessly specially with regard to the verse quoted above. Hence many corrections had to be suggested. I have interpreted it as follows: just as Agni is found to manifest itself or unfold in different forms) in this world so also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and myself constitute three-fold forms (manifested from one Supreme being who is referred to in the first verse).

Recently V.V. M-rashi has published his reading and interpretation of this verse. (*Journ Or. Inst*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, December 1975, pp. 155-56). According to him the reading should be:

yadv = ātimatim = utkshipya vi[sta](stā)rō
n = ōpalabhyatē |

Tadv = āham ch = iva Viṣṇuś = cha [Bra]hmā cha
[vi]layam gatā[ḥ li*]

Stating this stanza is difficult to interpret, he says that it seems to mean that though the three gods created the universe, they are not noticed therein (even) though one may give up one's self-conceit; because they have disappeared from it. I am sorry that I do not agree with this reading and interpretation. In the word read as *vistarō*, the second letter, which has been read as *sa* by me is clearly a single letter and not a conjunct one. The next letter *ra* has clearly an *anusvāra* mark above it. The letter read by me as *thi* in *pra(pri)thivām* has been taken as *tkshi* of his reading *utkshipya* which cannot be sustained. There is no trace of a superscript *t* and of the horizontal stroke of *k*. Again, it is impossible to read the word *vilayam* at the end of the verse as has been done by Mirashi. What has been read as *vi* is undoubtedly *ti* (corrected to *tri* in my reading) and the next letter does not resemble *la* which we get in *labhyate* in this record. This letter resembles more *ta* than any other letter. Hence, the word is *ti(tri)tayam* and not *vilayam*.

The interpretation offered by Mirashi is also not satisfactory. His view that the three gods, viz. Brahman, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara who created this universe are not noticed in it, even though one may give up one's self-conceit, because they have disappeared from it is not satisfactory and is not in keeping with the meaning and tenor of the first verse which states that these three gods are the three-forms of one Supreme being and which mentions their separate function in this universe, viz. creation, sustenance and destruction respectively. Thus, it is only Brahman who created the universe and not all the three gods as supposed by Mirashi. Secondly, the statement that these gods are not noticed in the universe because they have disappeared from it is not convincing and happy. One does not expect these gods to be noticed as one notices a tree or a mountain. But they are noticed everywhere in the sense that their presence is felt by every devout Hindu. Further, if they have disappeared from the universe, they must have

first appeared there. So when did they appear in the universe and when did they disappear? And lastly, the statement that these gods are not noticed even though one may give up one's conceit is also not convincing. Who should give up the conceit and why? Is it that one does not notice the gods because one is self-conceited? In that case, he should be able to notice them when he gives up his conceit. Moreover, Mirashi does not account for *yad-vā* and *tad-vā* occurring in the verse, probably in the sense of *yathā* and *tathā*. Thus the interpretation offered by Mirashi based on faulty reading, as pointed out, is not tenable. On the other hand, the reading (with some corrections) and the interpretation of the verse in question given by me is quite in keeping with the idea of the first verse. This second verse, in fact, gives an example to clarify the idea of the first verse by stating that just as Agni, which has originally one form, manifests in this universe in different forms, so also the Supreme Being manifests in this universe in the three-fold forms of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara. In support of this idea, I have quoted the verse from *Kaṭhōpanishad* where it is stated that just as one form of Agni having entered the universe assumes different forms, so also the Supreme Being assumes different forms. I have also referred to a verse in the *Mahābhārata* according to which Agni is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe. Therefore, the second verse quite appropriately gives the simile of Agni to the Supreme Being mentioned as *Ēka-Mūrti* in the first verse, as pointed out by me.

MALHAR PLATES OF
PĀṆḌAVA KING
ŚŪRABALA : YEAR 8

B. Sitaraman
M. J. Sharma

THE SET OF COPPER-PLATES with ring and seal which is being edited here was found sometime prior to October 1974 at Malhar, Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh and was acquired by Shri S. Shankar Narayan, the Collector of the district who kindly gave the same to Shri B. Sitaraman, then Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, South Eastern Circle, Hyderabad. The plates, though well preserved, were found to be partly covered with a layer of cupric oxide and other impurities. Thanks to the expert help rendered by Shri M. S. Mathur, Deputy Superintending Archaeological Chemist, Chemistry Branch, Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad, who chemically treated and cleaned these plates, the engraved portion was rendered easily readable.

The set consists of three copper-plates of which the second and third are inscribed on both sides while the first one bears writing only on one side. The 52 lines of the text are distributed as follows : I b and II a : 11 lines each ; II b : 13 lines ; III a : 14 lines and III b : 3 lines. The letters are so deeply engraved that they show through the back of the first and third plates. All the plates, measure more or less 18.5 cm in breadth, 10.6 cm in height and about 0.2 cm in thickness. The plates are held together by a copper ring which passes through a hole 0.8 cm in diameter, bored in the middle at the top. The ring has a diameter of 0.8 cm and its ends are soldered and joined

to a somewhat circular seal 2.2 cm in diameter. The upper part of the seal bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull (*Nandin*) which is damaged while the lower half bears a legend in one line consisting of four letters which may be read as “*Śrīpuruṣaḥ*” The whole set, including the ring and the seal, weighs 910 gms. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 gms.

The charter bears, in many respects, very close resemblance and similarity to the Bamhani plates¹ allegedly of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala which is the only other record, so far known, belonging to the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mēkala.

As regards the *characters* of the present record, it may be said that its letter-forms, in all respects, are the same as those of the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala² which belong, as described by B. Ch. Chhabra,³ to the ‘Southern Class of alphabets, a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central Indian alphabet of about the 5th century A. D. They were stated as representing a very rare type, with most of the letters having at the top a small triangle with its apex downwards and due to such shape being named as nail headed variety’. They were compared by him with the Poona Plates⁴ of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-Gupta and the Majhgawām plates of the Parivrajaka king Mahārāja Hastin.⁵ The letters in the present inscription are rather seen sometimes to be more squarish than triangular in shape and may also be compared with those of the Malhar plates of Vyāghrarāja⁶ and the Malga Plates of Sāmanta Indrarāja.⁷

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. Verses Nos. 1, 4, 6-9 occur in the Bamhani Plates as verses⁸ Nos. 1, (lines-1-4), 5 (lines 16-17), 10 (lines 28-31), 11 (lines 31-34), 12 (lines 43-44) and 13 (lines 44-45) respectively. Similarly some of the prose portions of the text are also found repeated here. The passage starting with ‘*tasya putras = tatpādānudhyāttaḥ*’ in line 13 and ending with ‘*Śrī-mahārāja-Nāgabalaḥ*’ in line 15 of our charter is found in lines 8-11⁹ of the Bamhani plates; the passage starting with ‘*Tāta*’[*h*] (*ta*)s = *tasya putras = tatpa(tpā)d-ānudhya(dhyā)taḥ*’ and

ending with *Śrīmahārāja-Bharataḥ* in lines 18-21 of the present charter is found in lines 13-15¹⁰ of the other record. Regarding orthographical peculiarities the following points which are similar in treatment as in the Bamhani plates, are worth mentioning here: (1) Final *n* is changed to an *anusvāra* as in *Śrimān*, lines 7, 14, 20, 27, 36 and 37; = *smiṁ*, line 8. (2) the *visarga* is used instead of an *anusvāra* as in *Pāṇḍavānāḥ*, line 5, while, in another instance, it is used after an *anusvāra* as in *Sāsanamḥ*, line 4 and *Mēkalāyāmḥ*, line 6. (3) In = *trīśūlapāṇēr ri* is used instead of the subscript *r*. (4) In conjuncts the interchanging of places between the main letters and subscripts is to be observed as in *atsu* and *Vōmsābhir* = , line 38. (5) In *saṁvabhūva* *va* is used instead of *ba*. In addition to the above there are a few more omissions and commissions which have been rectified in the text or noticed in the foot-notes.

The grant portion introduces the king (Udīrṇṇavaira) as addressing himself to the *grāma* led by the *grāmakūṭa* and *nāyaka* of the village Saṅgama in the *Dakṣiṇa-rāṣṭra* (Southern Province) of Mēkala. The object of the charter is to record the grant of the said village Saṅgama along with the usual privileges, to the god Jayēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka by the king (Udīrṇṇavaira) after having received it from Narasiṅha, a son of Bōṭa, and grandson of the merchant Manōratha. The gift was given in perpetuity to the said god so that merit may accrue to himself and his parents. The record is dated in lines 50-51, on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the 8th regnal year of the king. The week-day was Wednesday and the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phālguṇa. The text was composed by Śiva and engraved by Mahiraka.

The record commences with a passage stating that this is the charter of the illustrious god (*bhaṭṭāraka*) Jayēśvara who is described as the abode of unlimited good qualities, as one who wields in his hand the trident, who has the excellent bull for his conveyance, who is attended by the serpent, who is the destroyer of cupid and whose two feet are worshipped by the lord of the divine beings (i.e. Indra). The next sentence in line 4 states that the charter

was written with the permission of the illustrious Udirṇṇavaira. Then follows the genealogical portion between lines 4 and 34 with 6 verses and some prose passages giving the usual description of the kings. The first stanza tells us about Jayabala who is described as an ornament among kings, as highly renowned, as ruling over Mēkala and as belonging to the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas. The next stanza speaks of his son Vatsarāja who is compared with the illustrious lord of Vatsa and is extolled for his valour and good virtues. Then follow a prose passage introducing *Mahārāja* Nāgabala, the son of Vatsarāja, born to his queen Drōṇa-bhaṭṭārikā, and a stanza describing his (Nāgabala's) valour in the battle field crowded with rutting elephants. The following passage and two verses (verses 4-5) describe Nāgabala's son *Mahārāja* Bharatabala as born to the queen Indra-bhaṭṭārikā and as possessing good qualities similar to those of Bharata, the brother of Rāghava born to Daśaratha. After this description of Bharatabala, there is a passage which introduces his son Śūrabala, born to queen Mahādēvī for whom a verse (verse 6) is devoted, describing her as the royal consort of Bharata, as belonging to the Amarajakula, as born in Kōsala, as having become world-renowned and as having attained eminent status by virtue of having sons and grandsons of exemplary qualities. The next stanza (verse 7) introduces Udirṇṇavaira who is stated to be endowed with multitude good qualities, whose pair of feet resembling full blossomed lotuses, were being rubbed by the foreheads of many subdued feudatories and whose race of birth, viz. the gentle lunar race was being highly praised by the people as being the famous Sōma-vaṁśa. The subsequent lines (lines 36-52) contain the grant portion, imprecatory stanzas, details of date etc.

The record is important in that it throws welcome light on the genealogy of the Pāṇḍava family of Mēkala and on some of the related problems. The following genealogy is found given in the present charter.

Jayabala

|

Vatsarāja—queen Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā

|

Mahārāja Nāgabala—queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā

Mahārāja Bharatabala—queen Mahādēvi

Mahārāja Śūrabala

Udīrṇavaira (another name for Śūrabala)

The Bamhani plates contain the genealogy of this family upto *Mahārāja* Bharatabala while our record proceeds further, introducing his son *Mahārāja* Śūrabala, as born to queen Mahādēvi,¹¹ in the passage (*śrīmatyām Mahādēvyām = utpanna[h] śrīmahārāja-Śūrabalaḥ*).¹² While dilating upon verse 10 of the Bamhani plates, Chhabra took the descriptive word *Lōkaprakāśā*¹³ to be the proper name of Bharatabala's queen. This very stanza is repeated in our record (i.e. verse 6) and aptly finds a place just after the passage which introduces *Mahārāja* Śūrabala and his mother Mahādēvi on the strength of which it may be said that the word *lōkaprakāśā*, which literally means 'world renowned', like many other adjectives mentioned in the stanza, only qualifies Mahādēvi the queen-mother and should not be considered as a proper name. As regards the Bamhani plates there is a contrary instance wherein a word was taken in its literal sense instead of being taken as a proper name. For, while interpreting the 11th stanza of the Bamhani record,¹⁴ which according to Chhabra, does not give clear meaning because of its ambiguous nature,¹⁵ he refers to the attributes mentioned in that stanza as belonging to Bharatabala and also thinks that there is, possibly, a 'pun' upon the word '*narēndrah*' which occurs at the end of the stanza, meaning 'king' on the one hand, qualifying Bharatabala, and being the personal name of the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna, who is probably mentioned here as overlord of the former, on the other hand. But, an improved version of the above stanza (i.e. verse 7, text lines 32-36) and a new piece of evidence which occurs in the present charter enable us to improve upon the above explanation. The sentence *likhyatē śrī Udīrṇavair = ānumatyā* occurring in line 4 obviously contains the personal name Udīrṇavaira who receives the honorific *śrī* and it is this name which is found repeated in the above stanza (verse 7) at the end, just before the word

'*narēndrah*' thus reading '*Udīrṇṇavairō narēndrah*' which merely means 'the king Udīrṇṇavaira', and it is about him, evidently, that the above stanza speaks and not about the king Bharatabala or about the Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna. Now comes the question, who is this Udīrṇṇavaira. Strangely, neither of these two records gives us any direct clue as to his relationship, if any, with Bharatabala and his queen. However, with the finding of this lone verse which occurs in both the records, and is placed in sequel to the verse which describes Bharatabala's queen Mahādēvi, it may be safely concluded that Udīrṇṇavaira was closely related to the above named two. His name, perhaps, could be taken in that case as a popularly known title or precoronation name of *Mahārāja* Śūrabala for whom, as a matter of fact, our present record does not devote any separate stanza unlike for other members of his family, unless we consider verse 7 as meant for him. Thus, with the identification of Śūrabala with Udīrṇṇavaira, the stanza describing him, which follows the stanza describing Mahādēvi, the queen mother, falls in proper sequence, as the first being the description of his mother and the second being of himself (i.e. *mahārāja* Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇṇavaira). The mention of Udīrṇṇavaira just prior to the grant portion and the striking similarity in the style of composition and engraving as also the names of the composer and the scribe being the same,¹⁶ lead us to conclude that both the Bamhani and Malhar records belong to one and the same king, viz. Udīrṇṇavaira *alias* Śūrabala who was thus the donor of two grants which were made respectively in his 2nd and 8th regnal years.

Of the geographical names, the country of Mēkala and the territorial division *Dakṣiṇa-rāshṭra* have been discussed in detail by Chhabra. He suggests that Mēkala comprised the south-eastern part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of Bilaspur district and some parts in the east of Maṇḍla district. According to him this country was divided into two provinces, viz. *Uttara-rāshṭra* and *Dakṣiṇa-rāshṭra* and the river Sōn in its upper reaches formed the boundary between the two. The village Saṅgama in *Dakṣiṇa-rāshṭra* has to be located somewhere in Bilaspur district, Madhya Pradesh.

[Metres: vv. 1, 2, 6, 7 *Sragdharā*; v. 3 *Upajāti*; v. 4 *Indravajrā*;
v. 5 *Mālinī*; vv. 8, 9 *Anuṣṭubh*]

TEXT

FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE

- 1 16 Ōm Svasty = aparimita-guṇa-samudayasya bhagavatas
tri (Tri)śūlapāṇēr-vva-
- 2 ra-vṛṣishabha-vāhanasya sphurad - bhujaga-parikarasy-
ānaṅg = āṅga-vidhvatsinaḥ¹⁷
- 3 tṛi(tri)daśa-pati-nuta-charaṇ = ābja-yugalasya śrī-
Jayēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasy = ē-
- 4 vaṁ śāsanaṁḥ (naṁ) likhyatē śrī - Udīrṇavair = ānu-
matyayā¹⁸ [||*] Tataḥ¹⁹-Ā-
- 5 sid = yaḥ Pāṇḍavānāḥ(nāṁ) suvimi (ma) la-yaśā²⁰ (śa)
sām = anvayē bhūri-dhāmnām
- 6 rāj = ābhūt Mē(n = Mē) kalāyaṁḥ(yāḥ) kshitipati - tila-
kaḥ saṁprasūt-ōru-kī-
- 7 rttiḥ [I*] śrīmāṁ(mān) śrī-saṁvidhātā Jayabala iti yaḥ
khyāpyatē sya(svai)r = yya-
- 8 śōbhi[r*] = llōkē = śmim(smin)sarvvad = aiva pravara-
guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛitaś = chāru-mūrtti[ḥ*] [||1*||]
- 9 Tasy = āsid = Vatsarājaḥ sya-bhuja-bala-guṇ-ākkrānta-
śatru-pratāpa[ḥ*]
- 10 śrīmā[n*] Vatsādhip = ēva kshitipati-tilakō vatsarāja
[ḥ*] kshitiśa[ḥ*]
- 11 putra[ḥ*] sadvaṁśa-²¹kētur = mmaṇir = iva su-mahān =
unnataḥ śrī-nikēta[ḥ]

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

- 12 kēyūr = ōdbhāsītāt-saḥ sphurita-maṇi-ruchā chāru-
pinōru-bāhuḥ [||2*||]

- 13 Tasya putras = tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ(taḥ) parama-māhēśvaraḥ paramabrahmaṇya[ḥ*]
- 14 parama-guru-dēvat-ādhidaivata-viśēshaḥ śrīmād(mān) śrīmatyām dēvyā[m] Drōṇa[bha]-
- 15 tṭārikāyām = utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāja Nāgabalaḥ [1*] Nāgaiḥ ksharat-pra-
- 16 sruta-dānagaṇḍaiḥ bhramat-patāk = ākulit = āntarālaḥ [1*] sainya-
- 17 sphuraḥ (ra) ch[-hha]straruchā paritaṁ virājatē yasya raṇ-āgya(gra)-bhūmau [131*]
- 18 Tata[ḥ](ta)s = tasya putras = tat-pa(pā)d-ānudhya(dhyā) taḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ
- 19 paramabrahmaṇyaḥ parama - guru - dēvat - ādhidaivata - viśēsha[ḥ*]
- 20 śrīmām²² (mān) śrīmatyām dēvyām = Indra-bhaṭṭārikāyām = utpannaḥ śrī
- 21 mahārāja-Bharataḥ [1*] Indrō - dayā - śīla-guṇ - ānvitā-
- 22 yā audāryya-chāturyya-samanvitāyaḥ [1*] putra[ḥ*]

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

- 23 prasūtō = mala-chāru-kāntiḥ śi (śai)lēndra-putryā iva Kā[r*]ttikēya[ḥ*] [141*] Daśara-
- 24 tha-kula jatmā(nmā)ḍ = Rāghavasy = ānujō = bhūd-Bharata iti samantād = giyatē ya[ḥ*]
- 25 kshitiśaiḥ [1*] tadanu guṇagaṇō = pi praśray = ānamra-mūrttir-Bharata-nṛipatē - (ti)-
- 26 r = asmibhbhūtal²³ -ēndu-prakāśaḥ [151*] Tasya putras = tatpādānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśva-
- 27 raḥ paramabrahmaṇyaḥ paramagura(ru)-dēvat-ādhi-daivata-viśēshaḥ śrīmām(mān) śrī-

- 28 matyā[m] Mahadēvyām = utpann[h*] śrī-mahārāja
Sūrabalaḥ [I*] śrīmachcha(ch-cha)ndr-ānśu-²⁴
- 29 kīrttēr = Bharatabala-nṛipasy = ōttamā rājapatnī jātā
yā Kōsalāyā-²⁵
- 30 m = Amaraja-kulajā²⁶ kīrttim-uchchair = ddadhānā I
śasvad-dharmmādhikāra-prativi-
- 31 hitatay = ātīva = lōkā (ka) prakāśā yāta (ta)ḥ putraiḥ
[h*]²⁷ prapautraiḥ = nnaya-vina-
- 32 ya-ratai rājasiṅghaiḥ²⁸ pratishtām(shṭhām) [11611*]
Yō-sau-saṁpūrṇa-śakti-traya-vini-
- 33 patit - ānēka - sāmanta - mūrddha - prōṅghra(dghri)shṭ-
ōtphu[1*]la-padma-dyuti²⁹ [cha]lanayat-ā-³⁰
- 34 kkrānta-dik-chakkravālaḥ [111*] saumyaḥ Sōmasys³¹
vanśaḥ³² prabhava iti janī(naiḥ)
- 35 kīrtyatē yasya

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

- 36 ch = ōch[ch*]ai[h*] saḥ śrīmām (man) saṁva(ba)
bhūva (v = ā) pratima³¹-guṇa-gaṇa (ṇ = ō)dirṇṇavairō-
narēndraḥ [11711*] Tataḥ Mē-
- 37 kalāyām Dakṣiṇa-rāshṭrē Saṁ(Sa)ṅgama-grāmakē
grāmakūṭa-pramukhām(khān) nāyaka-
- 38 pramukhām[ś*] = cha grāmam samājnāpayati vidi-
tam = atsu (stu) vo = msā (smā) bhir = aya [m*-
grāmaḥ
- 39 s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ ā(a)-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśi sa-
nidhi[h*] s-ōpanidhiḥ chōra-
- 40 daṇḍa-varjjitaḥ chatuḥ sīmā-paryyantaḥ ā-chandrārka-
kshiti-tārakā-nirōdhēna mā-
- 41 tā-pitrār (trōr) = ātmanaś = cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhaya
yatra vaṇika-Manōratha-pautrasya Bō-

- 42 ṭa-putrasya Narasiṅhasya ³⁴ prasādikṛitas = tad = anēn = āpy = asmad-anumatyā bha-
- 43 gavataḥ śrī-Jayēśvara-bhaṭṭāarakasya pratipādit = ēty = avagamyā yad-uchitam-upanayana-
- 44 sukham prativatsyath = ēti [I*] svayam = ājñāpana (nā) [I*] yē ch = āsmad-vangē ³⁵ samupadyantē rājānas = tair = ap = ī-
- 45 yaṁ dattir = anumōdaniy = ānutpā (pā)lanīyā cha [I*]yaḥ ś = ch = ai (ch = ē) maṁ dattiṁ vilōpēn = āpādayishya-
- 46 ti sa pañchabhīr = mmahāpātakaiḥ sa[m*]yukta [h*] sya (syā)t [II*] [Bahubhīr = vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhi[h] sā-
- 47 garādidi (bhi) ḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [8II*] shashṭi
- 48 varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmō(mi) daḥ[I*] āchchhēttā ch = ānumantā cha tā-
- 49 ny-ēva narakē vasēd(t [II*] i)ti samāptaṁ = ch = ēdam śāsana[m] [II*]

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

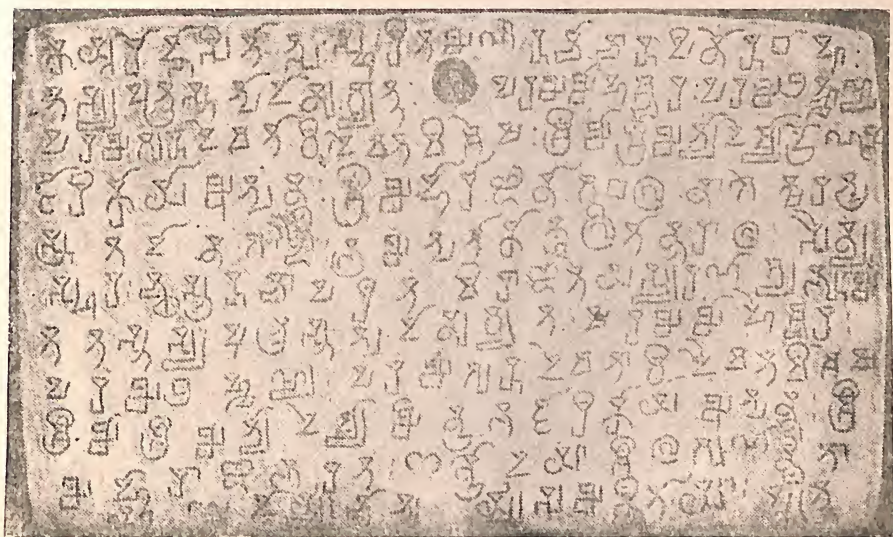
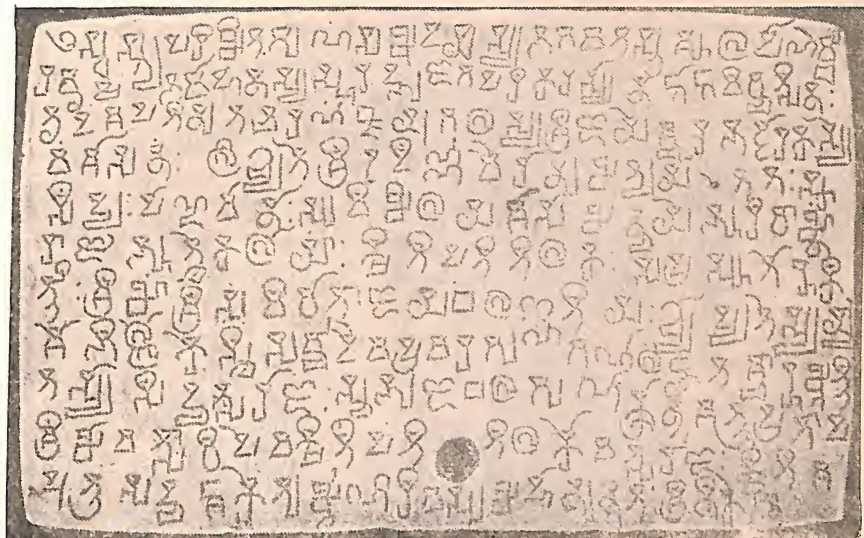
- 50 pravarddhamānā(na) - vijaya - rājya - sa [m*] vatsarē = shṭamē Kārttika-kṛi-
- 51 shṇa-pakshē (ksh = ai) kādaśyām Pūrvva-phālgunṇām Budhadinēn = ēti [II*] likhita-
- 52 ñ = ch = ēdam śāsanaṁ Śivēn = ōtkirṇṇaṁ = cha Mahira- kēn = ēti II

Seal

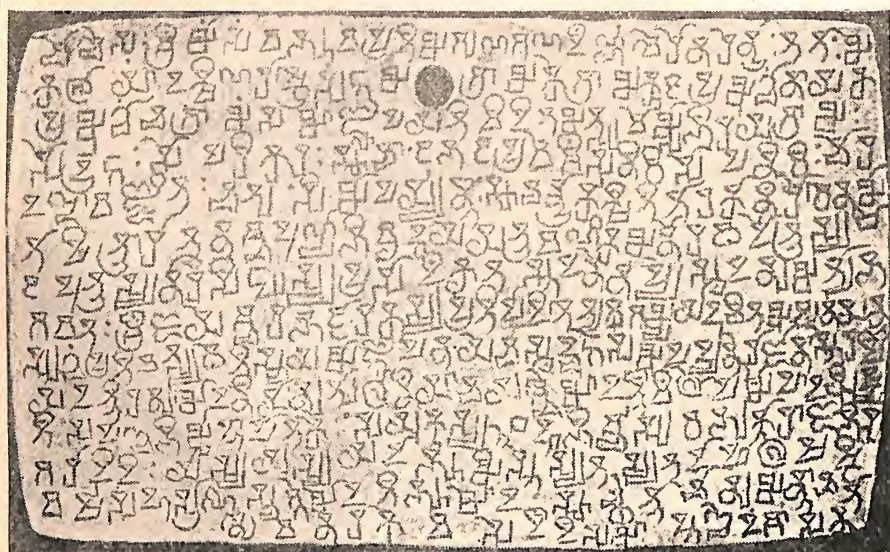
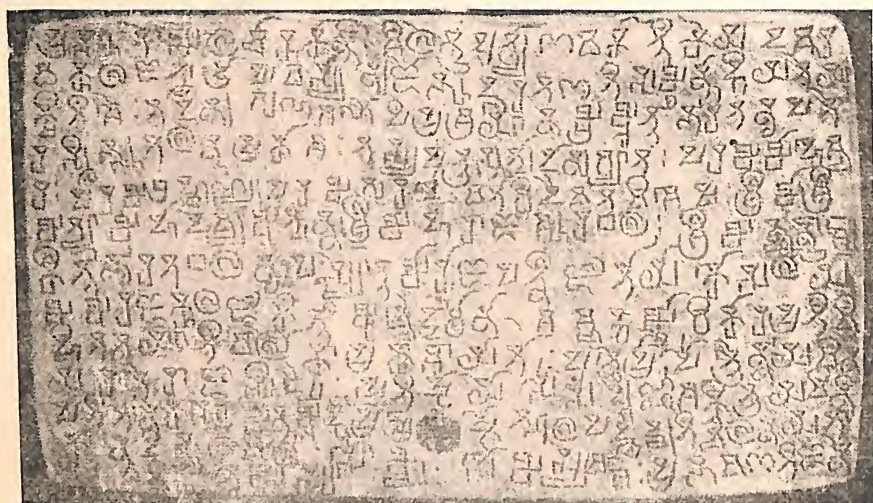
[Śrīpurushaḥ]

[We are thankful to Dr. G. S. Gai and Dr. K. V. Ramesh for some useful suggestions.]

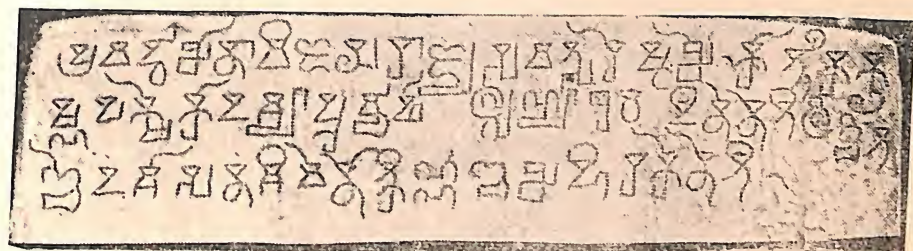
Malhar plates : I b and IIa



Malhar plates : II band IIIa



Malhar plates : III b and Seal





Notes:

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff.; *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 82 ff. and pl.
2. *Ibid.*, plate facing pages 140-41.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. and plate.
5. *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff., plate XIV.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 9, plate facing p. 48.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 41, plate facing p. 212.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pages 140-43.
9. *Ibid.*, see p. 140.
10. *Ibid.*, see pages 140-41.
11. Since no other name is given either before or after the word 'Mahādēvyāṃ', we may as well take this as her proper name.
12. See text lines, 27-28.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 145, text lines 31-34.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
15. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 134 and 143.
16. Expressed by symbol.
17. Read *vidhvaṃsinaḥ*.
18. Read *anumatyā*.
19. The text from *Aparimita* (line 1) to *Tataḥ* (line 4) is not found in Bamhani plates.
20. The scribe has attempted to erase the *dirgha* in *yaśā*.
21. Read *vaṃśa*.
22. The word *śrīmāṃ* is not found in Bamhani plates.
23. Read = *asmin* = *bhū*.
24. Read *āṃśu-*
25. In Bamhani plates it is engraved as *Kausalāyām-*
26. Amaraja-kula or Amarārya-kula, as a family may possibly have some connection with the Amarakantak hills, which is a part of the Mikul (Mēkala) hills (See, N. L. Dey : *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 4).
27. In Bamhani plates, instead of this word, *rātraiḥ* was engraved.
28. Read *rājasīmhaiḥ*.
29. In Bamhani plates this word was engraved as *papardati* and was corrected by Chhabra as *padma-dyuti*.
30. In Bamhani plates this word is engraved as *chalanayagā*.
31. In Bamhani plates, instead of this word *Sōmasya*, *sōyamṇpa* is engraved. This is read by Chhabra as *Sō=yañ=cha*.
32. Read *vaṃśaḥ*.
33. In Bamhani plates we find *sarvabhu=yasra triyaṃ* which was corrected by Chhabra as *sārvabhaumaḥ prathita*.
34. Read *Narasīmhasya*.
35. Read *vaṃśē*.

KAKATIYA COINS AND MEASURES : P.V. Parabrahma Sastry.
 Pub : Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad; 1975 ; pp. 23, price
 not mentioned.

This small monograph by P. V. Parabrahma Sastry deals with the coins and measures of the Kākatiyas. Though hundreds of inscriptions of this dynasty had been discovered not a single authentic coin of the Kākatiyas was reported so far. Some coins with the legend *Kākati Rudradēva* were ascribed to this dynasty. But this was questioned by numismatists headed by N. Venkataramanayya who has conclusively proved that such coins in question belonged to the Gajapatīs of Orissa.

In the meantime, the discovery of the Khaṇḍavalli plates has added a new dimension to the problem. The seal of this copper plate is more interesting. It contains the legend *Dāyagajakēsari*. This title was assumed by Pratāparudra. The earlier Kākatiya kings right from the time of Prōla I had similar titles. From this the author has rightly concluded that the titles *Dāyagajakēsari* and *Rāyagajakēsari* refer to the Kākatiya kings.

About a century ago some coins with the legends mentioned above were discovered and they were ascribed to some minor Chālukya chiefs. But now it has become clear that they belong to the Kākatiyas. So, for the first time we have unquestionable Kākatiya coins. The credit should go to P.V.P. Sastry, the author of the present monograph.

While dealing with queen Rudramadēvi the author has relied heavily on *Pratāpacharitam* and *Siddhēśvaracharitam* which are by no means historical. A historian should carefully avoid such unreliable traditional accounts. Further the Rachapatnam hoard has been taken to represent the war indemnity paid by Sēvuṇa Mahādēva to Rudramadēvi. The presence of the coins of Mahādēva's successor Rāmachandra in the hoard makes that assumption absurd. Mistakes die

hard. But the author does not seem to have noticed it. The two-page account on the Kākatiya measures is very sketchy. The photographs are good.

The author and the general editor N. Ramesan deserve our thanks for this fine monograph.

A. V. Narasimha Murthy

1] EPIGRAPHIA ANDHRICA, vol. II (1974). Editors: N. Venkataramanayya and P. V. Parabrahma Sastri. Jt. Editor: Md. Waheed Khan. Price: Not given.

2] EPIGRAPHIA ANDHRICA, Vol. III (1974). N. Venkataramanayya and P. V. Parabrahma Sastri. Jt. Editor: N. Ramesan. Price: Not given.

The issues reviewed here are both published by the Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. Of these, Vol. II contains eleven articles written by experienced as well as upcoming epigraphists. The texts of the inscriptions are carefully read and edited and are prefaced by scholarly and considered discussions on the purport and importance of each edited record. For those who would like to depend more on their own eyes and deciphering skill there are excellent facsimilies.

The present reviewer, however, deems it necessary to point out the fact that modern researchers have a tendency to ignore latest writings on topics of interest, the field of epigraphy not excluded. As an instance we may allude to the article on the Kurkiyāl inscription wherein the learned editor has given the name of Jinavallabha's mother as Vabbaṇabbe in spite of the fact that no less an authority than G. S. Gai, formerly Chief Epigraphist to the Govt. of India, has shown beyond any doubt that the name should properly be Abbaṇabbe. So also though the same authority has proved the untenability of the identification of Pampa's samādhi at Bōdhan there is a laborious article harping on the same point.

In Volume III are edited six copper-plate inscriptions issued by the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. Each charter is given the benefit of excellent illustration. The Charters are important each in its own way and have been edited with competence and care.

In spite of the minor drawbacks pointed out earlier the present series, if brought out regularly, is bound to be extremely useful to epigraphists, researchers and historians. We fervently hope that other state governments will soon follow the lead and bring out such series which will go a long way in bringing to light more and more of the seemingly inexhaustible number of inscriptions in our country.

K. V. Ramesh

INSCRIPTIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH : WARANGAL DISTRICT:
Editor: N. Venkataramanayya. General Editor: N. Ramesan.
Pub. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
1974. Price Rs. 86.00, pp. xi and 325, plates 14.

It is about seven decades ago that the inscriptions of Nellore District (then included in Madras Presidency) were edited by Butterworth and Venugopalachetty. As far as Andhra is concerned this was the first time that the texts of the inscriptions discovered in a particular district were edited and published. It is very heartening to note that the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh has now taken up the publication of the texts of inscriptions collected from each district in Andhra Pradesh. Such publications greatly help the scholars who take up the task of reconstructing the regional history which is very essential in these days of specialisation. In the light of this we are confident that the scholarly world will welcome this volume. It contains 142 inscriptions in all belonging to different dynasties like the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas and the Kākatīyas and to different languages viz. Telugu, Kannaḍa and Sanskrit. Naturally the bulk of the epigraphs belongs to the Kākatīya rulers and their times. Some interesting inscriptions like the Gōvindapuram epigraph which gives the genealogy of the Polavāsa chiefs, the Koravi and Gūḍūru records which give some details about the less-known Mudugoṇḍa-Chālukyas and a few others mentioning some of the important subordinate chiefs of the Kākatīyas included in this volume deserve special mention. Another inscription from Urusuguṭṭa (No. 100) is a good example of the Kāvya type of inscriptions. This volume

contains a historical introduction narrated in the light of the inscriptions edited in it and a useful index. Each inscription is preceded by a brief introduction. Inclusion of good facsimilies of fourteen important inscriptions has certainly enhanced the value of the volume. However, some minor mistakes have crept in. For example, the readings *taḷa(ḷā)-raṅga* (p.2 text line 9) and *taḷāraṅge* (p.2 text lines 12-13) are to be corrected as *taḷa(ḷā)ṛaṅga* and *taḷāṛaṅge* respectively. Though these are of no consequence to the historians the linguists attach importance to the forms with *r* and *ṛ*. Some of the inscriptions published in this volume have been edited in some earlier works like Hyderabad Archaeological Series 19. Had the cross-references been provided to such items it would have been helpful for easy reference. The texts of the inscriptions are printed in Telugu script. If they had been transliterated into Roman script also (as in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* series) more scholars would have been benefitted. It is hoped that this suggestion will be implemented in the forthcoming volumes. Though the present reviewer is fully aware of the high cost involved in the production of such technical works as the present one under review he would like to express his cherished hope that in future such volumes will be made available to the interested scholars at subsidised price. In so far as the Government of Andhra Pradesh are the publishers of this series such concessional pricing of the volumes is well nigh practicable.

Epigraphists and historians who no doubt welcome the publication of this carefully prepared volume eagerly await similar subsequent issues.

S. S. Ramachandra Murthy



